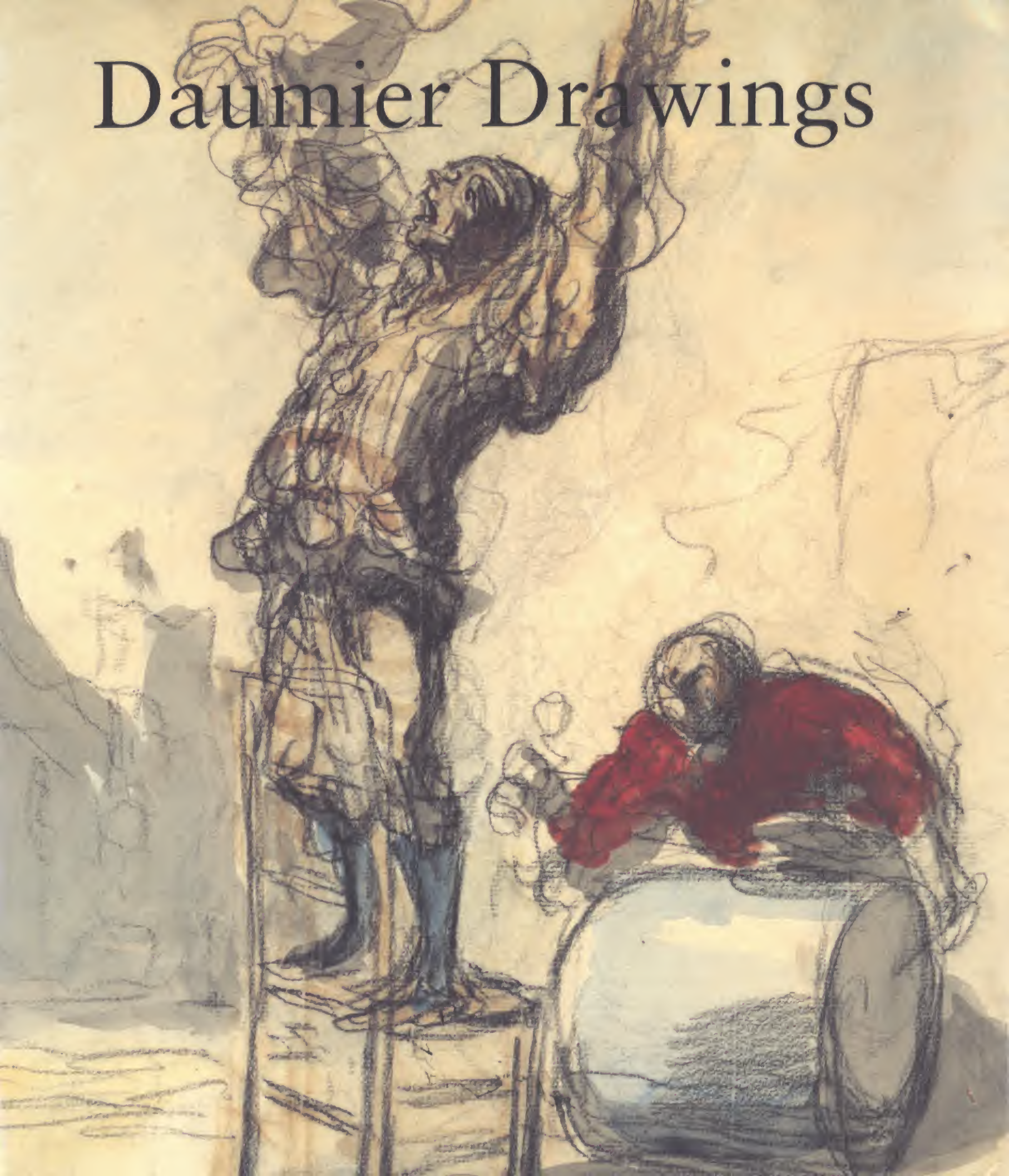


Daumier Drawings



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Daumier Drawings

by Colta Ives, Margret Stuffmann,
and Martin Sonnabend

*with contributions by
Klaus Herding and Judith Wechsler*

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

DISTRIBUTED BY HARRY N. ABRAMS, INC., NEW YORK

The catalogue is published in conjunction with the exhibition held at the Städelische Kunstinstitut and Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt, November 17, 1992–January 17, 1993, and at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, February 26–May 2, 1993.

The exhibition was co-organized by the Städelische Kunstinstitut and Städtische Galerie and The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The exhibition in New York is made possible by J. P. Morgan & Co. Incorporated. Additional support was received from the David H. Koch Charitable Foundation and the National Endowment for the Arts.

Published in English by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
John P. O'Neill, Editor in Chief
Barbara Burn, Executive Editor
Margaret Aspinwall, Editor, with Tonia Payne and Alarik W. Skarstrom
Bruce Campbell, Designer
Matthew Pimm, Production

Translations of German texts by Russell Stockman, except for the translation by Joel Agee of "Sculptural Aspects of Daumier's Drawings."

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Jacket/cover: Cat. no. 116. *Street Show*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase 1927, Rogers Fund

Frontispiece: Cat. no. 75. *A Painter's Studio* (detail). New York, José Mugrabi Collections

Type set by U. S. Lithograph, typographers, New York
Printed and bound in Germany

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Ives, Colta Feller.

Daumier drawings / by Colta Ives, Margret Stufmann, and Martin Sonnabend with contributions by Klaus Herding and Judith Wechsler.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-87099-653-3. — ISBN 0-87099-654-1. — ISBN 0-8109-6423-6 (Abrams)

1. Daumier, Honoré, 1808-1879—Exhibitions. I. Stufmann, Margret. II. Sonnabend, Martin.

III. Title.

NC248.D34A4 1992

741.944—dc20

92-30905
CIP

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Sponsor's Statement

In 1993 J. P. Morgan will mark the 125th anniversary of its presence in France. Our ties with that great country accordingly run deep, and it has seemed appropriate to us to celebrate them by sponsoring exhibitions on both sides of the Atlantic at two of the world's leading museums.

At the Musée du Louvre next season we will sponsor an exhibition of French drawings from the collections of the Pierpont Morgan Library, while at the Metropolitan Museum this remarkable exhibition of Daumier drawings gives us an opportunity to echo our French anniversary on America's shores, and in so doing to honor one of the most inimitable figures in French art.

We take special pleasure in associating ourselves with The Metropolitan Museum of Art in this project; the founder of our firm, J. Pierpont Morgan, was one of the Museum's principal supporters at the time of its creation, and from 1904 to 1913 served as its fourth president. His fine eye would be exhilarated by the works that have been assembled here.

Dennis Weatherstone
Chairman of the Board
J.P. Morgan & Co. Incorporated

Foreword

As the celebrated caricaturist of French politics and bourgeois life and the creator of nearly four thousand lithographs for the popular press, Honoré Daumier is justly admired. However, it is in his rarer and less well-known drawings and watercolors, the private works he made for himself and for a very limited audience, that Daumier most clearly emerges as an artist of exceptional genius and power. His surviving works in charcoal, chalk, ink, watercolor, and conté crayon are scattered in numerous museums and private collections around the world, and thus it has been difficult to interpret this material in which Daumier's potent originality as an artist supersedes his famous skill as a journalist.

Thanks to the serendipitous meeting of two curators from Frankfurt and New York and their mutual resolve to reevaluate an extraordinary and under-appreciated body of work, the public is now able to view the most extensive display of Daumier's drawings and watercolors gathered since the Paris retrospectives of 1901 and 1934. The principal organizers of this project, Margret Stufmann, Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Städel, and Colta Ives, Curator of Prints and Illustrated Books at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, note that a long tradition of appreciation for Daumier's art exists in both the United States and Germany where holdings of his work in public and private collections have been consistently strong. For example, as early as 1864, Baltimore art dealer and collector George A. Lucas commissioned watercolors directly from the artist on behalf of railway magnate William Walters (see cat. nos. 48–50). Around the turn of the century, prominent New York collectors Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer acquired two of Daumier's finest watercolors (cat. nos. 64 and 77) from the Galerie Durand-Ruel and also purchased the monumental painting *Third-Class Carriage* (fig. 95), all of which were bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum in 1929.

The first important exhibition of Daumier's work in America was organized by Alfred H. Barr, Jr., at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1930, only a year after the museum was founded. That large international loan show paired Daumier and Corot as two of the influential forerunners of modernism and assembled works from France, Germany, Great Britain, and many distinguished American collections, including those of John Nicholas Brown, Chester Dale, Philip Hofer, Lessing J. Rosenwald, Arthur Sachs, and the Phillips Memorial Gallery in Washington.

The reception of Daumier's art in Germany was also closely linked with early efforts to define modern art and became related particularly to the art of expressionism. Interest was centered both in Munich and in Berlin. Particularly influential was art critic Julius Meier-Graefe, who devoted an important section in his book *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst* (1904) to Delacroix and Daumier. Meier-Graefe worked closely with the Munich publisher Reinhard Piper, who brought out the early books on Daumier by Erich Klossowski and Kurt Bertels in 1908, as well as such landmarks of modern printmaking as the "Blaue Reiter" Almanach (1911) and the print portfolios (1918, 1921) of Max Beckmann, who declared his own personal debt to the art of Daumier. Edouard Fuchs's major work, *Der Maler Daumier*, was also published in Munich, in 1927.

The far-ranging extent of the enthusiasm for Daumier's art is amply evidenced by the geographic diversity of the loans included in this exhibition, which have been provided by more than sixty-five lenders from the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest to the Armand Hammer Museum of Art in Los Angeles. Great appreciation is owed especially to the French museums that have lent so generously, particularly the Musée du Louvre, which has enriched the exhibition with nine drawings and watercolors, also the Petit Palais and Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Calais. Altogether, museums and private collectors in thirty-seven different cities in Europe and the Americas have kindly shared their possessions on this occasion.

The City of Frankfurt is gratefully acknowledged for the financial support which has made possible the participation of the Städtelsche Kunstinstitut and Städtische Galerie in this ambitious project. In America, funding for the exhibition has been provided, in part, by the David H. Koch Charitable Foundation and the National Endowment for the Arts.

Philippe de Montebello
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New York

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Preface and Acknowledgments

This exhibition, which has been mounted by two museums of different sizes and structures, results from the happy coincidence of two curators meeting and discovering that they shared the same interests. Our mutual fascination with nineteenth-century French drawings and prints, and our activities of teaching, researching, and acquiring works for our museums' collections first attracted our attention (almost simultaneously) to Eugène Delacroix, whose graphic work we featured in separate exhibitions, and then brought us to his important contemporary, Honoré Daumier, in whose honor our efforts have now been joined. In subsequent travels together to study Daumier's works in public and private collections in Europe and the United States, we have found ourselves agreeing wholeheartedly also with Baudelaire, who as early as 1845 referred to Delacroix and Daumier in the same breath with Ingres, declaring the three artists the greatest draughtsmen of their time and proclaiming Daumier a protagonist of modern art.

The directors of our respective institutions have very kindly given their support to this international project, and we have had the further good fortune to enlist the aid of Martin Sonnabend, Associate Curator of prints and drawings at the Städel, whose expertise in the field of French sculpture predestined his valuable and energetic participation.

Like the most important scholarly studies of nineteenth-century French art produced during the last twenty years, which have been dominated by questions of sociology and cultural politics, our attempt to emphasize Daumier's importance necessarily highlights the artist's own political and humanitarian concerns and accords proper attention to his career as a caricaturist and lithographer. But, perhaps as a result of our interest in Delacroix, we have become particularly fascinated by the energy, the freedom, and the great expressiveness of Daumier's drawings, and have come to realize how very different they are in both style and iconography from the rest of his work.

A familiarity with drawings of the twentieth century has certainly sharpened our taste for the artist's bold draughtsmanship, and we find in his work significantly modern concepts of form, structure, and technique—all of which function as autonomous vehicles of expression. Similar observations have been made in historical discussions of the phenomenon of drawing, for example, in the writings of Philip Rawson, and it is precisely this way of looking at drawing, shaped by our experience of the art of our

own day, that permits us to recognize Daumier's modernity: his extraordinary freedom of line, on the one hand, and on the other, his rigorous attention to the interaction of formal structure, psychological expression, and intellectual content. In quite a remarkable way, he manages to combine an unorthodox, freehand style of drawing with the methodical, classical approach of developing a figure from within. Werner Hofmann must be credited for having aptly pointed out these aspects of Daumier's work as early as the 1950s. More recently, Bruce Laughton has attempted to take a fresh look at Daumier's drawing style by comparing it to that of his contemporary J. F. Millet. In our planning of this exhibition, we have attempted to pay equal attention to the issues of both style and iconography.

Thanks to the catalogue raisonné published in 1968 by K. E. Maison, over eight hundred drawings by Daumier are now known. Unfortunately, however, only a limited number of these have been at our disposal as many of them have changed hands, become inaccessible, or disappeared altogether. But, in the meantime, some formerly unknown drawings have come to light, and we are delighted to be able to present to the public for the first time a number of examples of very high quality. We have tried to make our selection as varied and also as focused as possible, bearing in mind that the material itself ranges from the extroverted and farcical to the introverted and melancholy, from the most hastily scribbled sketches to highly finished watercolors.

Like Maison, we have been reluctant to assign specific dates to most of these works, since they are undated themselves and in only a very few instances can they be securely associated with publications, commissions, exhibitions, or other events that might help to establish a precise chronology. It has become increasingly clear to us, however, that most of Daumier's surviving drawings and watercolors may be relegated to the two periods when the artist's career as a lithographer was interrupted: first, after the revolution of 1848, when staff changes at *Le Charivari* threw the magazine's schedule into disarray, and later, during the period from 1860 to 1863, when his contract with the journal was terminated temporarily.

We have come to recognize that Daumier, like Delacroix, tended to return again and again to certain subjects, often after long periods of time, and likely as not to transpose them into different media depending on how he felt about them at the moment. This tendency may be a reflection of the relaxation of iconographic conventions that began early in his century, and may also have to do with the simultaneous blurring of the distinctions between art that was intended to fulfill a public function and art born of an artist's own creative impulse. In this exhibition, which is devoted primarily to drawings, we have therefore included a few oil paintings, bronzes, and lithographs to give the viewer a sense of the larger context of Daumier's work.

Wishing to have the catalogue conform as closely as possible to the exhibition itself, we have grouped the works on display into six sections, according to intent and subject matter. The first chapter contains studies of heads and figures, while the second focuses on figural compositions within the more traditional context of historical scenes and motifs from religion and literature. The third chapter, both larger and more important, is devoted to scenes from contemporary life in all its diversity. Noting that Daumier's late works are increasingly complex in their structure and meaning, we have reserved the final sections for the artist's portrayals of lawyers, of sideshows and street performers, and finally, of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza.

Each of the five essays that open this catalogue attempts to reveal a different facet of Daumier's work as a draughtsman. Often referring to the views of his contemporaries, they discuss the artist's individual style, his iconography as it evolved out of the process of drawing itself, and the interrelationship between his works in drawing, sculpture, and painting. The catalogue's three principal authors are here joined by Judith Wechsler, Chair, Department of Art and Art History, Tufts University, Boston, who contributes her observations of Daumier's dramatically effective use of gesture and pose, and Klaus Herding, Professor, University of Hamburg, who examines Daumier's portrayals of artists and connoisseurs as reflections of the nineteenth-century artist's sense of his particular role in society, a problem Daumier considered with some intensity.

Aware that our efforts are far from conclusive and constitute yet another attempt to grasp the myriad forms which Daumier's art may be seen to take, we hope that others will be stimulated to pursue further investigations of this important body of work which injected a special vitality into the art of the nineteenth century as it reshaped the great tradition of European draughtsmanship.

In the course of organizing the exhibition and preparing this catalogue we have had the pleasure and privilege of conferring with many individuals whose help has contributed immeasurably to the project and to whom we extend our sincere thanks: Margaret Aspinwall, Ashley Ater, Penelope K. Bardel, Bruno de Bayser, the late Jacob Bean, Brigitte Bilgin, Peter Bintakies, Barbara Bridgers, Calvin Brown, Emmanuelle Brugerolles, John Buchanan, Barbara Burn, Bruce Campbell, Asya Chorley, Sharon H. Cott, James Cuno, Douglas W. Druick, Ursula Edelmann, Irene Federlin, Marianne and Walter Feilchenfeldt, Hanne Finsen, Jay M. Fisher, David del Gaizo, Stephen Garrett, Terèz Gerszi, Jane Glaubinger, George Goldner,

Antony Griffiths, William M. Griswold, Johannes Hartau, Barbara Hatcher, Gerd Hatje, Lee Hendrix, Ay-whang Hsia, Helmut Hütter, Garrison Ives, Lucy Ives, William Johnston, Dieter Koeplin, Michael Kolod, Susan Lambert, John Leighton, Katharine A. Lochnan, Kent Lydecker, Neil MacGregor, Stefanie Maison, A.W.F.M. Meij, John Morton Morris, Helen B. Mules, Manuela Müller-Windisch, Anna Carola Münch, Konrad Oberhuber, John P. O'Neill, Helen K. Otis, Matthew Pimm, Doris Prade, Hubert and Michèle Prouté, Emily Kernan Rafferty, Eliza Rathbone, Andrew Robison, Marc Rosen, Dieter and Walter Scharf, Manuel Schmit, Ruth Schmutzler, David Scrase, Arlette Sérullaz, Barbara Stern Shapiro, Marjorie N. Shelley, Edmond Stack, Gerald Stiebel, Michel Strauss, Mahrukh Tarapor, Gary Tinterow, Françoise Viatte, Kerstin Villela, John Whitely, Jenny Squires Wilker, Martin Windisch, Michael Wivel, Elizabeth Wyckoff, and the staffs of the Service de la Documentation, Musée du Louvre, and the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute, London.

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York

Daumier Drawings



Fig. 1. *Riot Scene*, ca. 1871 (M. 168). Pen and black ink with gray wash, 160 × 260 mm (6⅜ × 10¼ in.). Paris, Private Collection

Drawing at Liberty: Daumier's Style

COLTA IVES

Daumier's genius seems to have been stirred to life by the very activity of drawing which empowered his imagination as it did his entire career. Rarely a day passed, one imagines, when the artist did not draw, either on paper, on a lithographic stone, or on a woodblock, for he produced, in the course of some forty years, nearly six thousand graphic images. Unpretentious in their portrayal of humanity's day-to-day plight, his forthright pictures managed to describe a panorama of action and emotion in a matter of just a few lines. But more importantly, they explored a whole new range of possibilities involving the medium of drawing, freeing it from the constraints of academic tedium and redefining it as an immediate, personal, and highly expressive form of art.

Daumier's identity as a draughtsman unfolds in drawings of many different kinds: those that were printed (lithographs); those that were painted (watercolors); sketches and studies preparatory to lithographs, watercolors, and oil paintings; and drawings with evidently no other function than to vent the artist's thoughts and to record his observations. In each instance, the style and technique of a drawing denotes its particular function: whether its purpose was public or private, its design addressed to a large audience or a small one. It is only in the artist's last works that these distinctions became effectively blurred in an old man's impatient and fitful scrawls (figs. 1, 2).

The first thirty years of Daumier's career as a draughtsman are represented almost entirely by the drawings he worked on blocks of limestone which were then printed in newspapers and magazines. In only a very few cases do drawings on paper connected with these lithographs survive. Some are unmistakably preparatory works for specific compositions,¹ while others are pages of sketches, on which the artist seems to have been limbering up his hand and sampling new ideas (fig. 3). A surprisingly small number of drawings exist that can be confidently connected with paintings; they are distinguished from exercises for prints by their more careful and naturalistic study of the human form (see cat. no. 13) without the brash, abstract exaggerations that were compulsory for caricature. Surely there were many more such practice sheets. Théodore de Banville remembered seeing in Daumier's studio, "on the floor, against the wall, cartons overflowing with drawings, so swollen that they could not be shut."²



Fig. 2. *L'Assemblée de Bordeaux: Attitude conciliante*. . . . Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, March 11, 1871 (D. 3855). 230 × 177 mm (9 1/8 × 7 in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Edwin De T. Bechtel, 1957

1. See Maison 821–824; also Bruce Laughton, "Some Daumier Drawings for Lithographs," *Master Drawings* 22, no. 1 (1984), pp. 55–63 and pls. 39–45.
2. Théodore de Banville, *Mes souvenirs* [Daumier] (Paris, 1882); quoted in Pierre Courthion, ed., *Daumier raconté par lui-même et par ses amis* (Geneva, 1945), p. 160.

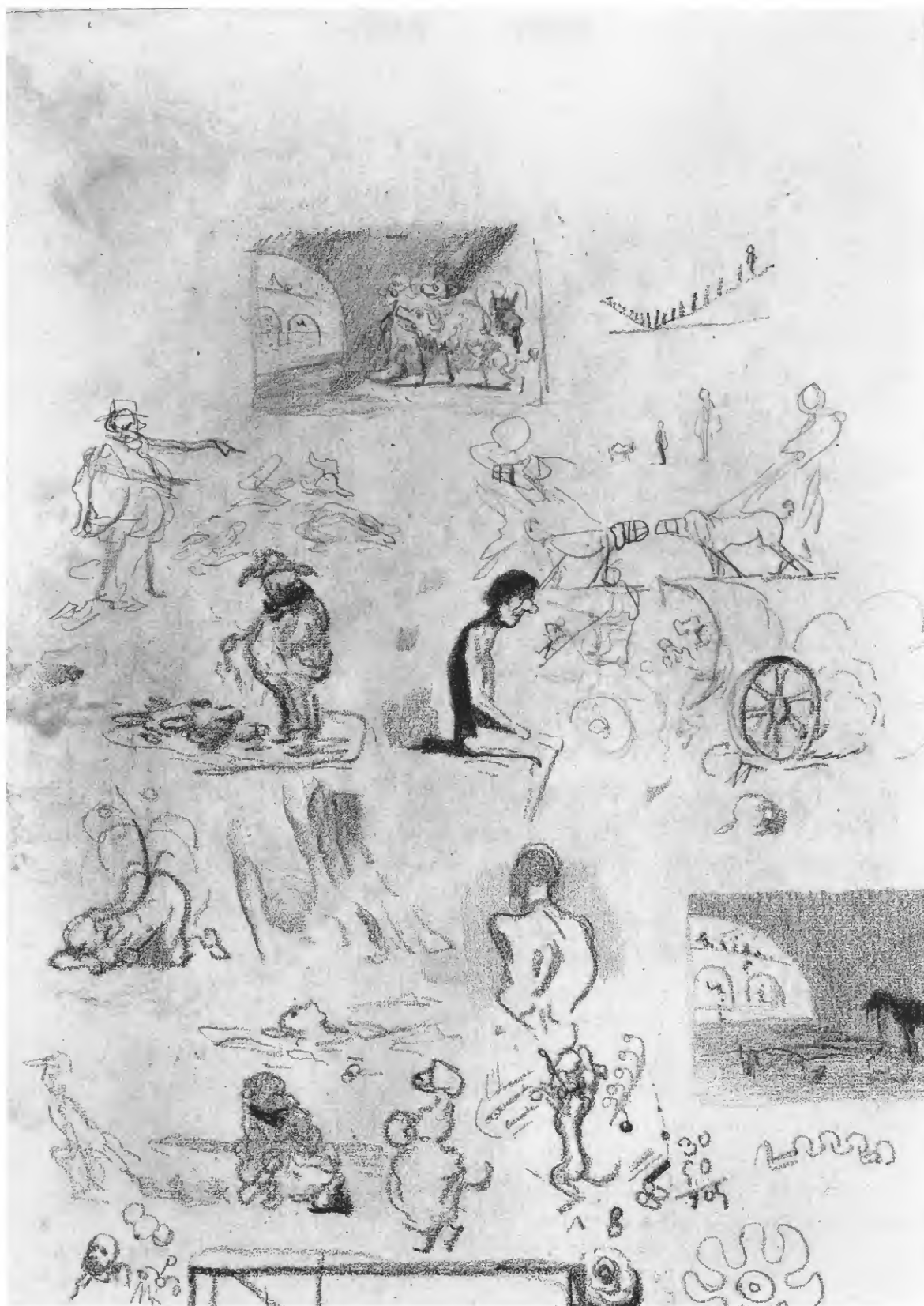


Fig. 3. *Sheet of sketches*. Lithographic crayon or conté crayon, 391 × 272 mm (15³/₈ × 10³/₄ in.). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

At two separate stages of his career Daumier found special opportunities to devote his energies to drawing and painting, rather than to the production of lithographs. In each instance his press assignments had been interrupted, first by upheavals following the 1848 revolution, and secondly, after 1860, when the magazine *Le Charivari* temporarily terminated his employment. It is to these two periods that almost all of Daumier's drawings can be dated. Those of the late 1840s and early 1850s are generally related to oil paintings, while those of the 1860s are connected with the production of highly finished drawings and watercolors that were initiated for sale to collectors. These were meant to capitalize on the artist's fame as a caricaturist while demonstrating his mastery of the skills of a painter. Enriched with tonal washes and color, these are the most formal and precisely rendered of Daumier's drawings and, because of the difficulties he found in completing compositions in oil, might just as well be seen as surrogate paintings.

Many of Daumier's line drawings in chalk, charcoal, and ink, apparently spontaneously rendered, are to a remarkable degree complete in themselves and, like his caricatures done in lithographic crayon, interest us for their own sakes rather than for any connection they might have to paintings. In at least two ways, they broke with the standard criteria for good drawing: by the frank informality of their execution and by their aesthetic independence. The positive vigor of this emancipated approach reflects, and may even have been inspired by, the emphasis of the Revolution on individual freedom. On the other hand, it should be noted that to many of Daumier's contemporaries, among them the painters of the Realist and Barbizon schools, drawing had become of little or only marginal importance. And even when his friends Millet, Rousseau, and Daubigny worked in pen and chalk they usually strove for moody, atmospheric effects, employing chiaroscuro rather than linear techniques; in their approach to landscape, they often skipped drawing altogether and proceeded directly to painting out-of-doors. Daumier's wholehearted reinvention of drawing during this period of its changing role in the painter's art was thus a largely personal and relatively solitary pursuit.

Baudelaire said Daumier drew "because he needed to draw," that his was an "inevitable vocation."³ Early on it was noted that his facility for drawing seemed to be a natural physical talent, something like a pitcher's arm or a swimmer's stroke. One of his first employers, Achille Ricourt, publisher of the magazine *La Silhouette*, who had spotted his gifts, remarked, "Vous avez le geste, vous."⁴ But despite his precociousness, or perhaps because of it, Daumier nearly bypassed altogether any formal artistic training. The boy who probably impressed his parents with an aptitude for copying art manuals' lessons on eyes and noses (fig. 4) was



Fig. 4. *Ce matin avant l'aurore. . .* Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, June 9, 1839 (D. 627). 238 × 227 mm (9 3/8 × 9 in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Frederick S. Hoppin, 1963

3. Charles Baudelaire, *Curiosités esthétiques* (Paris, 1868); quoted in Courthion, *Daumier raconté*, p. 163.
4. Quoted in Jean Adhémar, *Honoré Daumier* (Paris, 1954), p. 13.

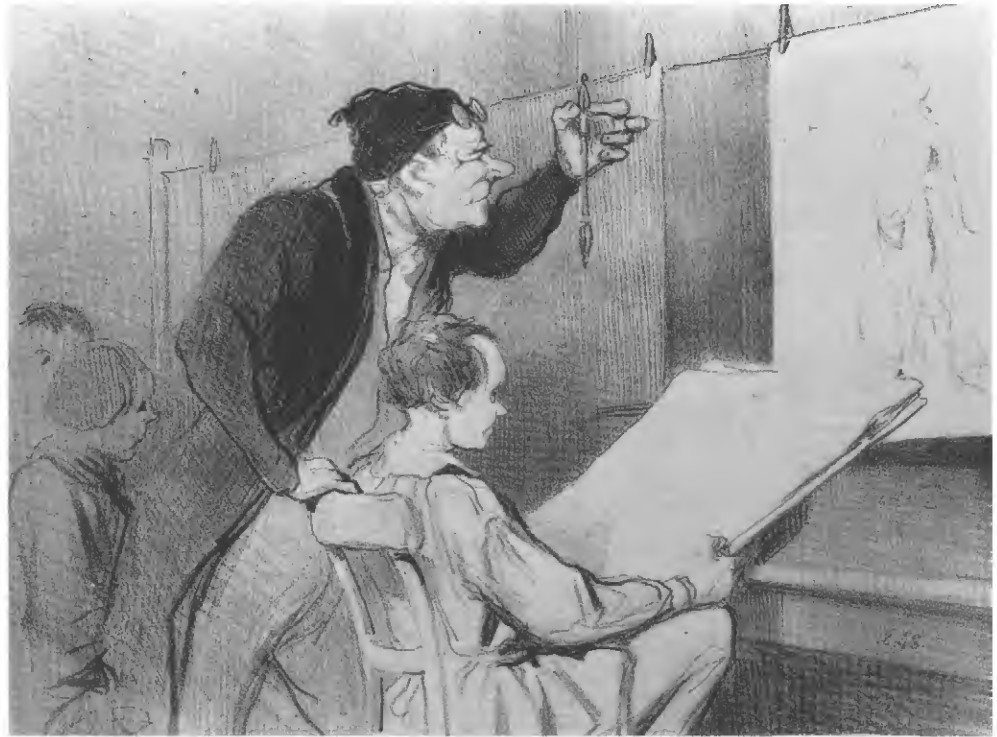


Fig. 5. *Mission pénible et délicate du professeur de dessin. . . .* Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, June 11, 1846 (D. 1468). 244 × 182 mm (9⁵/₈ × 7¹/₄ in.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

5. Edmond Duranty, "Etude sur Daumier," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 2, 17 (June 1878), p. 542.
6. "We know of only two men in Paris who draw as well as M. Delacroix. . . . The first is M. Daumier, the caricaturist; the second, M. Ingres. . . ." Charles Baudelaire, "Salon de 1845," from *Curiosités esthétiques*. In *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Claude Pichois (Paris, 1975–76), vol. 2, p. 356: "Nous ne connaissons, à Paris, que deux hommes qui dessinent aussi bien que M. Delacroix, l'un d'une manière analogue, l'autre dans une méthode contraire. — L'un est M. Daumier, le caricaturiste; l'autre, M. Ingres, le grand peintre, l'adorateur rusé de Raphaël. — Voilà certes qui doit stupéfier les amis et les ennemis, les séides et les antagonistes; mais avec une attention lente et studieuse, chacun verra que ces trois *dessins* différents ont ceci de commun, qu'ils rendent parfaitement et complètement le côté de la nature qu'ils veulent rendre,

placed, about the age of fourteen, under the tutelage of his father's elderly friend the distinguished academician Alexandre Lenoir. Until 1816 the director of the Musée des Monuments Français (a museum of sculptural fragments salvaged from the Revolution), Lenoir had a large collection of engravings and a stock of plaster casts from antique marbles with which to instruct his pupils. Perhaps on the advice of his tutor, Daumier began the practice of drawing the artworks in the Louvre about this time. By predilection, Lenoir would have steered the boy toward the paintings of Rubens and Titian and above all to classical statuary (fig. 5). A passionate devotee of sculpture who had been responsible for the rescue of Michelangelo's *Captives*, Lenoir may be counted a powerful influence on Daumier, even though their contact was relatively brief.

Like many young artists who held paying jobs during the day in order to earn their keep, Daumier made time in the early-morning hours to draw from the live models at the Académie Suisse. Admission was virtually free of charge, since there were no instructors (only models), and students followed their own inclinations in an atmosphere of camaraderie. But conscious as he was of the long tradition of the practice of drawing as the groundwork of artistic training, as the essential means to exact observation and concise

rendering, Daumier may be said to have pursued a life-long course of self-instruction. Having commenced in the usual way of artists, by drawing from antique sculpture and posed models, he very soon struck out on his own to draw the wealth of material that was available to him beyond the artist's studio, in the day-to-day life of the streets. Before he reached the age of twenty he was apprenticed to the portrait lithographer Zéphirin Belliard and then began to try his hand at drawing on lithograph stones. After a very few months, he left Belliard's shop,⁵ bored with the routine work there, but by then he had acquired all the technical skills needed for a draughtsman-lithographer's profession.

One could hardly exaggerate the impact of the invention of lithography on the course of nineteenth-century art and on Daumier's career in particular. Its invention in Munich in the 1790s made it possible for a drawing executed on stone to be printed in an almost infinite number of impressions, without any alteration to the design through the interference of tools or technicians. An artist's drawing could thus be publicly distributed, complete in itself, and recognizably authentic, since it bore the distinctive handwork of its creator. Furthermore, a newspaper could proclaim, as *Le Charivari* did right on the masthead, that it was a "journal that published a new drawing every day" (Journal publiant chaque jour un nouveau dessin).

Through lithography, drawing gained not only a wider audience but also a new identity because it was liberated from its time-worn role as preliminary work on the way to painting. Furthermore, when drawings, printed line-for-line as lithographs, became the daily fare of the popular press, artists began to look on their work done in crayon, chalk, and ink in a different light; their ideas about what drawing could, or should be were forever altered. The new picture-making process of lithography proved a boon to publishers, print sellers, journalists, and artists alike since it multiplied opportunities for all of them. In Paris during the 1820s, the industry of the popular press expanded rapidly to provide jobs for hundreds of artists, most of whom—like Delacroix, Decamps, and Charlet—were aspiring painters. But at that time, on account of its informality, its lack of finish, and its suggestion of rapid, spontaneous execution, a drawing made on stone for a magazine or a newspaper could scarcely be considered a work of art. It was therefore all the more remarkable that, on the basis of fifteen years' worth of such journalistic lithography, Daumier could be linked by Baudelaire with the era's artistic giants: Delacroix and Ingres.⁶

But what had Daumier, a caricaturist and only an occasional painter, to do with the other two artists? He shared little of Ingres's cool restraint and scrupulous attention to contour since his own crayon lines tended to stray from exact description and race ahead to anticipate a figure's movement. His drawing might, in its urgency, suggest the coloristic fervor of Delacroix,



Fig. 6. *Saint Sebastian*, 1849–50 (cat. no. 28). Charcoal, 322 × 187 mm (12¹/₁₆ × 7³/₈ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ittleson, Jr. Gift, 1969

et qu'ils disent juste ce qu'ils veulent dire.—Daumier dessine peut-être mieux que Delacroix, si l'on veut préférer les qualités saines, bien portantes, aux facultés étranges et étonnantes d'un grand génie malade de génie; M. Ingres, si amoureux du détail, dessine peut-être mieux que tous les deux, si l'on préfère les finesses laborieuses à l'harmonie de l'ensemble, et le caractère du morceau au caractère de la composition, mais . . . aimons-les tous les trois."



Fig. 7. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Archangel Michael Finds Silence at the Gates of the House of Sleep*. From Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Black chalk and brown wash, 382 × 256 mm (15 × 10 1/8 in.). Düsseldorf, C. G. Boerner

but it was more plucky than temperamental; “robust, healthy . . . rather than strange and disconcerting,” as Baudelaire said when comparing the two.⁷

The natural, lively, and articulate ease of Daumier's drawing style, in which lay its subtle and persuasive power, may be owed to the artist's innate skills and to his lack of personal pretense; but it had much to do also with his career as a caricaturist, by which the almost daily practice of lithography trained his hand in agility and speed. Perpetually faced with press deadlines, Daumier evidently worked on as many as eight stones at a time, as his biographer Arsène Alexandre noted.⁸ The regularity of his assignments enforced a necessary discipline on his activity, and he met the challenge with a swift and flexible drawing style that could summarize a situation with arresting economy. The soft, greasy lithographic crayon was his ally in this effort; compliant and responsive, it “followed [his] thoughts,” he reportedly said, whereas “the lead pencil was stubborn and did not obey” him.⁹

Théodore de Banville remembered seeing the artist in his studio on the Quai d'Anjou drawing with the “débris” of used crayons, which he repeatedly rotated in order to sharpen them. It was his habit of using broken ends and stumps, de Banville observed, that gave his lines “hardiesse.”¹⁰ The artist's gestural activity is revealed in the sculptural vitality of his designs. The lines have a tactile presence and a muscularity that was associated by Balzac with the art of Michelangelo,¹¹ that Champfleury declared the work of “a virile hand,”¹² and that Henry James admired for their “thick, strong, manly touch.”¹³ Daumier seems always to have perceived the figures he drew three dimensionally, as if he had first modeled them in the round, like his portrait busts of deputies (figs. 31–34) and the rakish figure of Ratapoil (figs. 29, 30) which he developed in the media of both drawings and sculpture.

But Daumier, importantly, never lost sight of his central motif over which he exercised a superb organizing control. He could capture an idea, a reaction, or an emotion in a few bold strokes. Abandoning the traditional practice of drawing directly from life, he drew from memory, giving shape to recollections that had crystallized in his mind after all but the most important details had dissolved. His newspaper lithographs, his watercolors, and his paintings thus share a simplified, highly legible structure, usually centered on one or two individuals, or on a cluster of figures focused on one activity, such as talking, walking, or drinking. We meet them up close to the picture plane, where they are sometimes held in a narrow foreground before a backdrop that is a wall, a curtain, a screen of trees, crowds of people, or simply darkness. The space often opens slightly at the picture's left, in the direction to which most heads in Daumier's pictures turn in order to meet the gaze of the viewer reading from left to right.

Vitality, tactility, and lucidity remain the distinctive traits of Daumier's drawings throughout his career, although, over time, there developed

7. Ibid.

8. Quoted in Courthion, *Daumier raconté*, p. 53.

9. De Banville, *Mes souvenirs*; quoted in Courthion, *Daumier raconté*, p. 148.

10. Ibid., pp. 160–61.

11. See Courthion, *Daumier raconté*, p. 16.

12. Champfleury, *Histoire de la caricature moderne*; quoted in Courthion, *Daumier raconté*, p. 135.

13. Henry James, “Daumier Caricaturist,” *Century Magazine* 17 (1890), pp. 411–12; quoted in Laughton, *Drawings*, p. 75.

varying characteristics to his style. The evolution of the artist's draughtsmanship can be most readily traced in his lithographs since they were published regularly, and with dates; but as Maison observed, with some exasperation, it is much more difficult to sort out chronologically his almost uniformly undated drawings on paper in chalk, charcoal, pen, and wash because, chameleonlike, they changed for the sake of a particular audience or a specific function, even sometimes referring back to earlier subjects or styles. Nonetheless, efforts to define the characteristics of Daumier's lithographs at various stages of his career often prove extremely helpful in dating the artist's drawings, since his works in both media generally subscribe to the same stylistic progression.

Daumier's first, tentative investigations of the properties of lithography and his early professional assignments in the 1830s exploited the softness of the greasy lithographic crayon and the receptive graininess of the printing stone. Figures done at this time often display a painstaking care in their description through a wide range of tones from light grays to dense black. The victims of violence on the Rue Transnonain in the lithograph of 1834 (fig. 59), for instance, are finely, sensitively modeled, with the already strong sculptural conviction that would remain at the core of Daumier's art. The delicacy of this approach is apparent also in the artist's earliest-known drawings in black chalk (cat. nos. 1, 2).

Once his reputation as a popular caricaturist had been established, Daumier came into his own, particularly during the late 1830s and 1840s, when an almost cheeky bravura entered his art. Secure in his command of the crayon, Daumier allowed his line greater freedom and it became daring and elastic, stretching to keep pace with the master's wit. Daumier balanced his pronounced and fluid calligraphy during this period with broad passages of gray and accented areas of black and white (see fig. 5).

After the revolution of 1848, when some of the editors at *Le Charivari* resigned to assume new posts and the directionless magazine temporarily foundered, Daumier gained not only time to paint but also commissions to do so from the new liberal government. This point in his career is remarkable for its outburst of activity in painting, which was attended by preparatory chalk and charcoal drawings, most of which display a traditional seriousness of purpose, like *Archimedes* (cat. no. 31), while some, like *Saint Sebastian* (fig. 6; cat. no. 28), are as brisk and lively as the artist's caricatures and seem to share in their wistful humor.

Drawings such as *The Kiss* (cat. no. 29), with its sinuous, caressing lines, may bring to mind the work of Boucher, but it was the influence of Rubens that was most strongly felt in the programmatic works Daumier submitted to the Salons of 1849 and 1850–51: *The Miller, His Son, and the Ass* (fig. 78), *Nymphs Pursued by Satyrs* (M. I–32), and the lavish drawing



Fig. 8. *Street Show* (cat. no. 116). Conté crayon and watercolor, 365 × 255 mm (14³/₈ × 10¹/₁₆ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1927



Fig. 9. *Un rappel de chanteuse*. Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, January 7 and 9, 1857 (D. 2905). 266 × 209 mm (10½ × 8¼ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922

The Drunkenness of Silenus (cat. no. 30). His figures became robust, convincing, and capable of filling a space with their own physical and psychological importance. The scoundrel Robert Macaire, who was Daumier's star villain in his prints of the 1840s, was supplanted in the 1850s by the inflated egoist Prudhomme and by the ruffian Ratapoil, the pair posing a double threat to French society. Prudhomme and Ratapoil signaled the opposing directions in which Daumier's art was drawn at mid-career: one, toward the weighty, monumental, and stable, the other, toward the volatile, allusive, and buoyant. Later, during the 1860s, Daumier successfully united these two strains in such outlandish hybrids of bulk and flamboyance as the lawyer descending the *Grand Staircase of the Palais de Justice* (cat. no. 88) and the *Study of an Actor with a Tambourine* (cat. no. 22).

The turbulent and experimental spirit that stimulated Daumier's work throughout the 1850s can be felt in the greater irregularity and quirkiness of his draughtsmanship. His lines began to look mussed or wrinkled (fig. 9) and often broke into angles and peaks (see cat. no. 18). Although his figures now tended to be much more substantial than those drawn in the 1840s, they were often described by a less complete and a less confining line, leaving open bare patches of paper. White or negative space took on new importance and became a foil for idiosyncratic outlines. The introduction of

14. These were lithographed by Charles Ramelet and published in *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari* (D. 50 and D. Appendix 29–43).
15. In *La Caricature* (October 9, 1834) the publication of a watercolor entitled *Un Cabaret de village* was announced, although it never appeared. Later, the *Revue des Peintres* published lithographed reproductions of Daumier's watercolors *La Bonne Grand'mère* and *Le Malade* in March and June of 1835 (D. 254 and D. 255); noted by Adhémar, *Honoré Daumier*, p. 24.
16. Philippe Burty, "Croquis d'après nature. Notes sur quelques artistes contemporains," December 10, 1862; summarized by Larkin, *Daumier*, p. 146.

ink washes into his drawings at this time further challenged Daumier's ability to compose harmonious tonal arrangements while allowing him to explore dramatic lighting effects (see fig. 10; cat. no. 38).

When *Le Charivari* allowed his contract to lapse between 1860 and 1863 on grounds that the public had grown tired of his prints, Daumier, weary himself, and poorly recovered from a bout of ill health, was forced to redirect his efforts. It was then that he commenced a regular production of watercolors which were intended, like the English-inspired works of Delacroix, Barye, and the artists of Barbizon, to appeal to collectors. Daumier had made wash drawings and watercolors during his imprisonment in 1832–33 (see figs. 11, 12);¹⁴ and others, now lost, were reproduced in 1835 in the *Revue des Peintres*.¹⁵ The medium of watercolor proved much more responsive to the artist's hand than oil paint and allowed the vigor of his drawing to show through.

Only a few of Daumier's watercolors can be dated with any certainty, depending upon the records of sales and commissions (see cat. nos. 49, 50), but contemporary accounts suggest that nearly all of those that survive were made during the 1860s. When Philippe Burty visited the studio of Daumier's close friend Geoffroy-Dechaume in 1862, he saw nearly a dozen such watercolors for sale at fifty francs each.¹⁶ Paul Durand-Ruel, in his *Mémoires*,



Fig. 10. *A Woman and a Child Crossing a Bridge*, 1855–60 (cat. no. 38). Black chalk, pen and ink with wash, 290 × 220 mm (11³/₈ × 8⁵/₈ in.). Paris, André Bromberg Collection



Fig. 11. *Misanthropie*, 1833. Graphite, pen and ink, wash, and gouache, 250 × 200 mm (9⁷/₈ × 7⁷/₈ in.). Recently discovered in a collector's album of French and German drawings dating from about 1835–45. Paris, Private Collection



Fig. 12. Charles Ramelet, *Misanthropie*, after Honoré Daumier. Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, February 10, 1833 (D. App. 33). 241 × 200 mm (9¹/₂ × 7⁷/₈ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Arthur Sachs, 1923

recalled acquiring “magnificent watercolors” by Daumier for his gallery on the Rue de la Paix between 1865 and 1870. And many other dealers figure in the artist’s “fourth account book,” which lists sales of fifty-one drawings between 1864 and 1868.¹⁷ According to the same records, Daumier sold only five paintings during the same length of time, and it is telling that in the Salon of 1869 he entered not oils, but three of his watercolors.¹⁸

Formal presentations of his art to a select audience of connoisseurs, Daumier’s painted drawings are meticulously crafted (see fig. 13). They were constructed by stages in discernible layers of black chalk, pen and ink, gray wash, and watercolor, with contours reinforced in conté crayon during the final steps when accents in gouache were occasionally added. The artist’s careful grading of tone in these works may be associated with his concentration on painting at the same time and reveals the full extent to which he believed he had to labor in order to translate his native linear language into an art substantial enough to be taken seriously by collectors. It might be said that Daumier’s most finished watercolors of this period represent the surrender of his naturally unadorned draughtsmanship to the prejudices of current fashion, and it sometimes seems as if they wear their raiment of colors and delicate penmanship self-consciously, like excessive finery.

17. Jean Cherpin, “Le Quatrième Carnet des Comptes de Daumier,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 56 (December 1960), pp. 353–62.

18. *Visitors in an Artist’s Studio* (possibly M. 384; see cat. no. 74), *The Two Doctors and Death* (M. 400; fig. 82), *Judges in the Court of Assize* (unidentifiable, perhaps M. 642).



Fig. 13. *The Connoisseur* (detail), ca. 1865 (cat. no. 77). Pen and ink, wash, watercolor, conté crayon, and gouache over black chalk. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929



Fig. 14. Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo, *Centaur Abducting a Satyress*. Pen and dark brown ink, gray-brown wash, over black chalk, 194 × 274 mm (7 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1937

Daumier's line drawings of the late 1860s and early 1870s, done as the artist's eyesight and his general health deteriorated, are to modern eyes his most original and exciting, since they address a key concern of art in our own time: how to express visually the forces, energy, and emotional contents of human experience in a way that is most direct and convincing. The agitated, swirling, and sometimes spindly lines that Daumier drew seem energized by the impulses of the artist's own thoughts and thus seem to encapsulate pictorially both emotion and the tumult of creativity. Restless in their pursuit of form, Daumier's scribbled lines may be compared to those spun out of the exuberance of the rococo, as seen in drawings by Tiepolo and Fragonard (figs. 7, 8, 14, 15). Daumier was certainly acquainted with such works, which connect his own to drawing's history, but he was impelled not so much by a delight in the brisk activation of an image's surface as he was by the more profound and indescribable dynamics of the



Fig. 15. *Centaur Abducting a Woman* (cat. no. 35). Pen and black ink, gray wash on traces of black chalk, 274 × 367 mm (10¾ × 14⅞ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

creative process. One senses the rapidity with which the artist's mind and hand moved in both the fleeting nature of his figures' expressions and poses and the careening, swerving, and frequently off-course speeding of his hand. This exciting dynamic is obvious in his caricatures, where success meant provoking a quick, strong reaction; it is also an especially vital factor in his drawings of the 1860s and 1870s, where his pen or chalk candidly recorded the vagaries of his thinking processes both ruminative and exploratory by lurching forward, doubling back on itself, or abruptly sheering off in some new direction (see figs. 1, 2). With its courageous negligence and candor, Daumier's art thus looks forward, rather than backward, to resonate in the modern era: in the vigorous handling of Cézanne's early work, in the gripping fervor of van Gogh's quilled lines, in Toulouse-Lautrec's brash reports, and in the tensile uncertainty of Giacometti's wiry men.



Figs. 16 and 17. *Studies for a Barker* (cat. no. 105), black chalk. Verso, *A Pleading Lawyer* (cat. no. 81), black chalk, pen and ink. 128 × 242 mm (5 1/8 × 9 1/2 in.). Los Angeles, The Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center, The Armand Hammer Daumier and Contemporaries Collection

Drawing from the Mind: Reflections on the Iconography of Daumier's Drawings

MARGRET STUFFMANN

An exhibition devoted to Daumier as draughtsman and watercolorist rather than as caricaturist and lithographer can give us a new appreciation of the artist's style. But it can also challenge us to reflect on the particular subjects he chose to portray in these more private works, and to explore the reasons for his choice.

We know of only slightly more than eight hundred surviving drawings, compared to his over five thousand published lithographs and wood engravings. It is likely, of course, that a large number of the former have been lost. But the ratio is only a reflection of the fact that Daumier began his career as a lithographer and supported himself with his public works until about 1848. Only then did he begin to concentrate more and more on drawing, and later also on watercolor, as wholly independent ways of expressing himself.

The known drawings include works of very different kinds and in varying degrees of preservation. Many are only small, scribbled notations, some of them cut from larger pages of sketches. Others are drawings in pen and ink or crayon overlaid with virtuosic washes. And still others are fully realized watercolors that are unquestionably finished works of art and that constitute the most complex images the artist ever created.

Some of these outwardly more ambitious works were commissions, or so it would seem, for they soon came into the possession of friends and collectors. They made up the major part of the first two exhibitions of his work, in 1878 and 1901, and until well into our own century these were the works scholars referred to when they spoke of Daumier the draughtsman.

A second group of small studies or sketches of more modest outward appearance but of high conceptual quality were first presented to the public in 1934, in the context of a retrospective held in the Orangerie in Paris. These proved to be particularly appealing to a modern sensibility and caused a number of contemporary artists—Giacometti, for example—to become increasingly interested in Daumier's drawings. Though well known, a number of the works shown in that exhibition, notably those from the

Roger Marx Collection, were unavailable for the present one, but they helped us determine what form we wished this exhibition to take. Our overriding interest was in the more modern, subjective element in Daumier's drawings and the ideas he chose to present in this medium.

Drawing as a medium for individual and direct artistic expression rather than as an academic exercise achieved a new respectability in the 1850s and '60s. In part this was a reflection of the Romantics' concern for subjective experience and expression, and in part it was related to the introduction of photography. The appearance of this new method of creating and presenting pictures occasioned a reappraisal of the virtues of the traditional graphic arts. Contemporary art critics clearly took this into account in their writing about Daumier. Baudelaire, the most perceptive of them, admitted that Daumier dealt with subjects from his own experience, but he stressed that the artist drew from his head, that he created his drawings from memory or out of his imagination: "He has a wonderful, almost divine recollection that serves as his model."¹ Completing the thought, he said in another context: "In fact all good and true draughtsmen draw from the image in their heads and not from nature."² The creative principle of using an emotionally boosted memory as a stimulus to drawing links up artists as different as Daumier and Delacroix and induced Baudelaire, as early as 1845, to refer to them in the same breath with Ingres as the greatest draughtsmen of his time.³ In contrast to this, J. Champfleury, Daumier's writer-friend from the Realist camp, when writing about Daumier's drawing technique spoke of a camera capturing and storing up images instead of a subjective memory.⁴

For Daumier, who did not receive a traditional academic training, drawing could hardly become the fundamental starting point and integral part of a strictly defined creative working process. Accordingly, he took little if any care of his drawings.⁵ One gets the impression that he drew spontaneously, swiftly, and often. For him drawing was a means of giving free rein to his thoughts, and though much of what he produced may have been only accidental, specific impressions or spontaneous ideas could also become the seeds of images that would occupy him for years.

To judge from the material we know today, it appears that Daumier's drawings were created mostly as independent works. Only a very few were preliminary sketches for caricatures. His lithographs, however, clearly provided him with a particular attitude to drawing. Through his work in that medium, Daumier developed a strong yet subtle sense of line and the ability to work spontaneously but with discipline. The need to work in reverse sharpened his pictorial imagination and his feeling for composition. He was well aware that much of the immediacy of a drawing was necessarily lost in the printing process, and he was capable of exploiting such

1. "Il a une mémoire merveilleuse et quasi divine qui lui tient lieu de modèle." Quoted from Charles Baudelaire, "Quelques caricaturistes français" (1857), in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Yves-Gérard Le Dantec and Claude Pichois (Paris, 1961), p. 1006.
2. "En fait tous les bons et vrais dessinateurs dessinent d'après écrite dans leur cerveau et non d'après la nature." Quoted from Baudelaire, "Le peintre de la vie moderne. L'art mnémonique" (1863), in *Oeuvres complètes*, p. 1167.
3. Baudelaire, "Salon de 1845," in *Oeuvres complètes*, pp. 817–18.
4. "... Il [y] a des peintres qui, avant la composition d'une oeuvre, feuilletant leurs cartons bourrés d'études, leurs carnets remplis de croquis, ils veulent revoir de près ces notes précises pour en faire un choix. Daumier ne procédait pas de la sorte, lui qui ne prit jamais des croquis d'ensembles ou de détails;

differences as he moved from one medium to the other. Because his published lithographs possessed such graphic energy, and also perhaps because he began producing independent drawings relatively late in his career, the important art critics of his day, like Baudelaire, tended to speak simply of his “dessins,” without distinguishing between his lithographs and his drawings.

Despite the differences in the creative process and the technique, Daumier's work as a caricaturist and lithographer could not help but influence his work as a draughtsman. To attain fluency in caricature, an art form closely related to language, Daumier was obliged to develop a vocabulary of forms, a large repertoire of types and gestures that he could summon at a moment's notice, combining them as needed. He was able to draw on the same store of images in the medium of drawing (see, for example, his various sideshows, cat. nos. 99–105).

It is striking that, compared with the caricatures, Daumier as a draughtsman limited himself to only a very few subjects. Moreover, in his drawings, watercolors, and paintings he concentrated on a number of motifs—notably the scenes in his experiments with light, the carnival performers, and Don Quixote and Sancho Panza—that rarely, if ever, appear in his caricatures.

History, a major source of subject matter for academic artists, is seldom dealt with in Daumier's drawings. A few are devoted to “historical” motifs (see cat. no. 27), but none of these can be grouped together as preliminary studies for paintings. For the most part his drawings of historical and literary subjects are one of a kind, highly concentrated scenes with only a few figures. In them, particularly, one sees evidence of the artist's temporary fascination with the old masters, notably Rubens and Rembrandt.

After some early experiments (see *La République*, 1848, fig. 66), Daumier's drawings also increasingly focus on everyday life, the prose of his own time, which thus becomes history proper for him. The scenes and figures chosen from it were of the same significance for him as an artist as if they belonged to the worlds of myth or religion; he consequently emphasized his descriptions of them. It is striking how, like Delacroix,⁶ Daumier returned to specific subjects in a variety of techniques, coming back to motifs that held a special meaning for him, repeating them, varying them, sharpening their effectiveness as metaphors.

Though Daumier appears to have rejected the traditional, step-by-step method of creating finished pictures, the precision with which he was able to work out pictorial ideas in the smallest of formats is truly remarkable. One could easily imagine many of these small-format drawings expanded into full-scale watercolors or paintings—and, in fact, a number of them were (see, for example, cat. nos. 73, 74). A series of obviously private

son cerveau était sa chambre noire où il déqualquait tout-ce qu'il lui paraissait digne ou satirique d'être conservé; mais aussi physiognomies, gestes, allures lui donnaient de tels poussés pour sortir des yeux intérieurs que l'artiste devrait être embarrassé dans le choix de ces personnages. Que prendre de celui-ci ou de celui-là? Comment les apparier pour les faire entrer dans une scène comique parlante pour tous? . . .” From a hitherto unpublished manuscript by Jules Champfleury in the Archives of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Santa Monica.

5. See the description of Daumier's studio by Théodore de Banville in his *Souvenirs*; reprinted in Jean Adhémar, *Honoré Daumier* (Paris, 1954), p. 102.
6. See *Eugène Delacroix: Themen und Variationen*, exh. cat. by Margret Stufmann, Städtische Galerie im Städelischen Kunstinstitut (Frankfurt am Main, 1987).



Fig. 18. William Hogarth, *Characters and Caricatures*, April 1743. Etching, 195 × 206 mm (7¹¹/₁₆ × 8¹/₈ in.). Frankfurt am Main, Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut

examples demonstrates Daumier's sure sense of composition and skill as a draughtsman (fig. 147, M. 421, and M. 433). These tiny drawings are reminiscent of works by Jacques Callot or Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, French artists who were celebrated during the nineteenth century.⁷

Daumier was hardly an academic, yet he produced countless drawings of heads and figures that bear a superficial resemblance to the traditional assignments that form a part of classical training. These heads are by no means typical, anonymous "têtes d'expression," however, but rather highly individualized physiognomies that become exemplary through the skill of the drawing. Daumier's intellectual approach is similar to that of William Hogarth in his famous print *Characters and Caricatures* (fig. 18), which Daumier must surely have known. Unlike Hogarth, however, Daumier further distinguished between his subjects by integrating into his drawing the perception of time and moment, and in many cases, despite his focus on the head alone, he communicates a sense of the person's overall physical appearance (see cat. nos. 6, 10).

Daumier rendered figures in the same way. As a caricaturist, he gave his figures an air of authenticity by including details of the latest fashions, but when drawing he often left them as nudes. However these drawings have none of the agelessness, the classical symmetry, or the clichéd poses and gestures of academic models. Daumier drew real men and women engaged in everyday activities; they simply happen to be naked. He shows them standing, sitting, running, lifting, carrying, stooping, always with an eye for organic coherence. In the rare case when he presents a classic nude in the tradition of David, as in *The Artist in His Studio* (cat. no. 76), his decision is appropriate to a specific context (see Klaus Herding, pp. 52–55).

Daumier's caricatures relied on strong contrasts, between large and small, thick and thin, stasis and motion. These contrasts the artist also carried over into his work as a draughtsman, and they often provided the initial ideas for sketches that he later developed into fully realized compositions (fig. 19). In many such figure sketches, each of the bodies appears to incorporate a specific intellectual perception, and this ensures that, despite their robes, swallowtail coats, and fashionable crinolines, they preserve a physical immediacy and a timeless vitality.

Despite his reliance on contrast, Daumier avoided juxtaposing male and female in his drawings, thus forsaking a traditional source of tension that is so obviously exploited in the drawings of artists like Delacroix or Géricault. With few exceptions, Daumier's female figures are never cast as seductresses. They are almost always portrayed as mothers nursing or carrying their children, as working women like the washerwomen on the quays of the Seine, or as housewives shopping in the market or riding trains and trolleys. They are always anonymous, but he supplied them with

7. Interestingly enough, Edouard Meaume published his catalogue raisonné of Callot (*Recherches sur la vie et les ouvrages de Jacques Callot*) in 1860, and in 1857 the brothers Goncourt published in *L'Artiste* their article on Saint-Aubin (see Elisabeth Launay, *Les frères Goncourt collectionneurs de dessins* [Paris, 1991], pp. 433ff.).
8. See Theodore Reff, *Degas: The Artist's Mind* (London, 1976), especially the chapter "Three Great Draftsmen," and Degas's paintings like, e.g., *Lorenzo Pagans and Auguste De Gas*, 1870–77 (Paris, Musée d'Orsay; Lemoisne 256).

attributes specific to their class. To all appearances, the relation between men and women is one subject that Daumier, for whatever personal reasons, deliberately excluded from his art.

In his drawings Daumier also paid little attention to landscape or the urban settings that play such an important role in his lithographs. This is somewhat surprising given his close connection to the artists of Barbizon, especially Millet, Corot, and Rousseau, whose style is reflected in Daumier's few surviving landscapes (cat. nos. 66, 67). His true subject—in his drawing even more unequivocally than in caricature—is people, not so much as symbols of specific social realities or ideas but as representatives of a general understanding of the human condition.

Whatever the subject of his drawings, Daumier was not content with merely describing outward appearances. His caricatures were another matter, for in these it was important that his figures be immediately recognizable, so outward appearance was all important. In his drawings he could devote himself to less obvious human qualities. He was a precise observer, but he never described merely what he saw before him, he also remembered it. While guiding his pencil, his pen, or his brush he reacted emotionally, to be sure, but he also reflected, searching for deeper understanding. Consciously or unconsciously, his thinking became a part of the drawing process. For him drawing was a way of achieving knowledge; this is as apparent in his most fleeting sketches as it is in his fully perfected watercolors. As a caricaturist, he was obliged to rely on expansive gestures, bold narration, and strong judgments, but when drawing he concentrated on the quieter, more restrained aspects of human behavior. Instead of mocking the dramatic reactions of Salon visitors, for example, he showed connoisseurs engaged in quiet study. Instead of noisy public speakers he portrayed people immersed in reading or listening to music, theatergoers entranced by the sights and sounds emanating from the stage, or two men engaged in wordless communication as they smoked their pipes over a glass of wine (cat. no. 59). In the context of these scenes Daumier uses refined effects of light and tone. They create a dense atmosphere and so express the view depicted in an indirect way. In these works Daumier hit upon pictorial ideas that would soon be taken up by artists like Degas⁸ and Cézanne (fig. 101).

Daumier's chief interest as a draughtsman appears to have been man's inner experience. His aim was to show the people he drew acting on their own thoughts rather than responding to arbitrary outward stimuli. Only in drawings could he portray the process of perception and make that process his actual subject matter—something not possible in the lithographs—and this interest is apparent in all of his major themes. Relying on the viewer's powers of association, he encouraged him to think and to respond critically.



Fig. 19. *Figure Studies: A Contrast* (M. 792). Pen and ink, 396 × 283 mm (15⁵/₈ × 11¹/₈ in.). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



Fig. 20. *Voilà le ministère public qui vous dit de choses... désagréables...* Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, August 24, 1846 (D. 1357). 238 × 195 mm (9 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Edwin De T. Bechtel, 1957



Fig. 21. *A Criminal Case* (M. 654). Pen and ink and crayon over charcoal, 180 × 280 mm (7 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ionides Collection

This is true in his portrayals of everyday life, of law courts, and of carnivals, and in his scenes based on great works of literature.

This newly defined, complex relationship between the work of art and the viewer widens the range and variety of both representation and its interpretation. The watercolor *The Testimony of a Minor* (cat. no. 83) may serve as a good example. At first glance the scene depicted seems rather obvious. This is particularly due to the effect of the highlight and to the drastic confrontation of the slim girl with the gloomy tribunal. A closer look, however, shows that Daumier had originally been thinking of a weighty pregnant woman. The radical yet still visible change in appearance and meaning has now turned the fact into a suspicion. Moreover, the viewer is invited to associatively follow up this suspicion, since the suggestive look of the judge involves him as a secret witness to the dubious proceedings.

Once inspired by a given subject, Daumier allowed his drawing to be directed in equal measure by emotion and reflection. The result is a work that we experience both visually and intellectually. We see this in a “mise en page” of frequently quite heterogeneous figures and in a sudden accelera-



Fig. 22. *In the Courtroom* (cat. no. 84). Pen and black ink with wash over conté crayon, 212 × 225 mm (8³/₈ × 8⁷/₈ in.). New York, The Honorable Samuel J. and Mrs. Ethel LeFrak and Family



Fig. 23. *A Criminal Case* (cat. no. 85). Pen and ink, gray wash, watercolor, gouache, and conté crayon over black chalk, 385 × 382 mm (15¹/₈ × 12¹³/₁₆ in.). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum

tion of line, most notably in the robes of lawyers and the costumes of saltimbanques. We also recognize it in sequences of images that recall successive frames in a film, though we cannot be certain that they were in fact created one after another. In a number of instances, moreover, there is a clear connection between the images on the recto and verso of a drawing.

In drawings of courtroom scenes, for example, Daumier explored the relationship between the accused and his defender. Constantly varying the arrangement of his figures, he lets us see how skeptical he is about the integrity of lawyers and the possibility that justice will be served. A lithograph published in 1846 (fig. 20) presents obvious collusion between the accused and his defense. But a sequence of drawings of the same situation shows something else entirely. Three drawings (figs. 21, 22; M.650) have the same two figures, but the artist was here intent on showing the attorney's vacillation: at first he refuses to be bribed, but in the end he caves in. The two opposing ideas are combined and concentrated in the imposing watercolor in the J. Paul Getty Museum (fig. 23) with its calm, diagonal composition of almost monumental figures, its restrained

but incriminating gestures, its added figure of a glowering gendarme at the far right, and its collection of legal documents arranged like a still life in the foreground. Clearly there is mischief afoot, but the accused man will end up being the victim no matter what. A spare drawing of various scenes from the close of a trial (cat. no. 96), including, among other figures, the accused broken down after the announcement of the verdict and an utterly unperturbed defense attorney, reads like the end of a tragic play.

Daumier returned to this subject, probably sometime later, with even more aggressive distaste. In this drawing (fig. 24) the defense attorney is seen in action, and his pompous gestures cause the accused to seem all the more frightened and miserable. In the drawing *A Defense Lawyer* (fig. 25), Daumier moves the same scene into the Salle des Assises of the Palais de Justice in Paris. This time the accused's lawyer points to a painting on the wall, the large work *Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime* by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, dating from 1804–8. Quite a well-known work, it hung in the Palais de Justice only until 1815, but in 1826 it found its way into the Louvre, where Daumier surely saw it.⁹ By the very act of drawing he was led to remembering; the extent to which he was doing so becomes evident from another example (fig. 26), in which he took up Prud'hon's composition, reinterpreting the fleeing figure of Crime as a jurist. Daumier could hardly have hit upon a stronger formulation of his low opinion of law courts and the administration of justice.¹⁰

The involvement of Daumier's thinking processes with his drawing processes, as evidenced in the previous example, is further confirmed by the iconographic relationships between the rectos and versos of some of his drawings: small sketches as well as large-format watercolors. It cannot be mere coincidence that on the back of a small sketch of a sideshow (cat. no. 108) there is one lawyer pleading his case in court, or that the verso of another lawyer with his hand raised in a highly dramatic gesture shows a charlatan in an identical pose (figs. 16, 17). What attracted Daumier to the figures of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza was their contrasting physical types and the way these characterized their opposing views of the world. It is surely no accident that on the back of what is probably the earliest of his drawings on this subject (cat. no. 120) we find an obese Silenus, a figure Daumier would soon rework in a sketch of Sancho Panza with his ass (cat. no. 121).

At first glance there would seem to be no connection between the lawyers that appear on the recto of one of the drawings shown here and the butcher on the verso (figs. 27, 28). But there is a deeper significance to the juxtaposition: negative references to the bloody trade of the butcher are common in French idioms of Daumier's time. For example, one thinks of the expression "C'est un rire de boucher, il ne passe pas le noeud de la

9. Regarding Prud'hon's painting, see Sylvain Laveissière, *Prud'hon: La Justice et la Vengeance divine poursuivant le Crime*, Les dossiers du département des peintures, no. 32 (Paris, 1986), esp. pp. 51f.

10. Daumier was probably referring to an anonymous lithograph in *La Caricature* from February 13, 1834, representing Louis-Philippe as the murderer of liberty (of the press). See *La Caricature*, exh. cat. (Munster, 1980), no. 81.



Fig. 24. *For the Defense* (cat. no. 82). Black chalk, gray wash, white chalk, and conté crayon, 235 × 356 mm (9¼ × 14 in.). Washington, D.C., The Phillips Collection



Fig. 25. *A Defense Lawyer Points to Prud'hon's Allegory of Justice and Crime* (M. 656). Graphite, pen and ink, 230 × 290 mm (9¼ × 11⅞ in.). Private Collection



Fig. 26. *Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime* (cat. no. 97). Pen and ink, wash, and red chalk, 260 × 340 mm (10¼ × 13⅜ in.). Private Collection



Fig. 27. *A Confidence* (cat. no. 91; verso of fig. 28). Charcoal, pen and ink, wash, red and black chalk, 295 × 215 mm (11⁵/₈ × 8¹/₂ in.). Private Collection



Fig. 28. *The Butcher, Montmartre* (verso of fig. 27). Charcoal, watercolor, and conté crayon, 295 × 215 mm (11⁵/₈ × 8¹/₂ in.). Private Collection

gorge,” which alludes to false laughter, rather than that which rises from within. The analogy is to the butcher’s grimace as he holds his knife between his teeth while he works. “Les bouchers de Cavaignac” was a term of contempt for the guards who beat down the June Revolution of 1848. In a similar vein, Daumier’s contemporary Eugène Sue wrote of Napoléon III: “L’Empereur aimait le peuple comme le boucher son bétail.”¹¹ By recognizing Daumier’s hatred for the imperial regime and its perversion of justice, one comes to see quite clearly that the images on these double-sided drawings are often very closely related. The conceptual density of Daumier’s drawings and their almost dialectical interrelatedness, which somehow contradicts the private character of the medium, link them with the tradition of Goya and his *Black Border Album* in particular.¹²

As much as the study of Daumier as draughtsman corroborates his alignment with the great traditions of European art, it also brings to light his forward-looking singularity. To some extent Daumier shares a position with Delacroix, his contemporary. But for Delacroix, drawing was a means of finding and expressing a subjective ideality that was also developed in connection with the intellectual content of the subjects he chose for his works of art. By comparison, Daumier used drawing as a medium for reflecting on and transforming everyday experience into artistic expression,

11. These citations are all from Pierre Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel* (Paris, 1865), s.v. “boucher.”

12. Jutta Held, “Goyas Bilddialektik,” in *Goya: Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik*, exh. cat., Städtische Galerie im Städtischen Kunstinstitut (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), p. 227.

thus clarifying both his personal outlook on life and his view of the world. The generally private nature of the creative process of drawing allowed for Daumier's impulsiveness as well as for reflection and for the workings of an imaginative mind. Thus Daumier succeeded in giving everyday subjects a dignity of their own and in bestowing timelessness upon moments of everyday experience which he captured graphically. Beyond an iconography taken in the traditional sense, this seems to be the real intent of Daumier's drawings and the reason why many modern artists have been attracted and stimulated by his work.



Fig. 29. *Ratapoil*, sculpted in 1851. Bronze, marked *Siot-Decauville 11*, h. 43.7cm (17³/₁₆ in.). Private Collection

Sculptural Aspects of Daumier's Drawings

MARTIN SONNABEND

The three members of the audience are precisely captured. The father is watching the events on stage with a stern and critical eye, the mother gently smiles at the performance, while the lively daughter, noticing that she herself is being watched, turns her head to receive the viewer's gaze. Daumier's drawing (cat. no. 3) achieves this psychological differentiation without the depiction of any narrative detail; instead, he merely applies a few dark, delicate planes with crayon and brush, creating areas of shadow that combine with the barely indicated features to form a suggestion of figures. Although we are given no information about material properties or qualities, we sense the physical presence of the people portrayed. The drawing sculpts. Its expressiveness derives entirely from the use of sculptural values.

This phenomenon is not an isolated case; indeed, it is a distinguishing feature of Daumier's work. Again and again scholars have noted that the artist's fundamental approach is that of a sculptor, that for him "the sculptor's act is always the decisive and dominant factor," that he "draws or paints 'the way he sculpts,'" ¹ indeed that "under different conditions" he might have become a sculptor. ² And although Daumier was far more prolific as a painter, draughtsman, and lithographer, his sculptural work contributed no less to the development of nineteenth-century art. Was sculpture perhaps even Daumier's actual intention? What is the significance of this sculptural concept in the context of his work?

Let us look at Daumier's sculptures more closely. To sidestep a complicated technical debate, we will set aside works that are not unanimously recognized by scholars—mainly the so-called figurines, ³ and a few individual pieces. That leaves two series of works and an individual sculpture whose authenticity is certain: the busts of members of parliament, the reliefs of emigrants (see cat. no. 25), and the statue *Ratapoil* (figs. 29, 30).

We are well informed about the background and the production of the parliamentarians' busts (see figs. 31–34). ⁴ Daumier sculpted the fragile clay busts—thirty-six are still extant, though they were neither fired nor cast in plaster—between 1831 and 1834 as models for a series of lithographed caricatures of leading politicians. The idea for the series probably originated



Fig. 30. *Ratapoil*, sculpted in 1851. Bronze, marked *Siot-Decauville 11*, h. 43.7cm (17³/₁₆ in.). Private Collection

1. Both citations from Maurice Gobin, *Daumier sculpteur, 1808–1879* (Geneva, 1952), p. 134.
2. Claude Roger-Marx, *Daumier und seine Welt* (Paris, 1972), p. 13.
3. Gobin, *Daumier sculpteur*, nos. 40–58; Jeanne L. Wasserman, *Daumier Sculpture*, exh. cat., Fogg Art Museum (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), nos. 44–66; see



Fig. 31. *Lefebvre*, ca. 1831–34. Bronze, marked MLG 5/25, h. 19.5 cm (7⁷/₈ in.). Private Collection



Fig. 32. *Podenas*, ca. 1831–34. Bronze, marked MLG 5/25, h. 20.5 cm (8 in.). Private Collection

also Jeanne L. Wasserman, Jacques de Caso, and Jean Adhémar, "Hypothèses sur les sculptures de Daumier," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 101 (February 1983), pp. 57–80, here p. 77.

4. Gobin, *Daumier sculpteur*, nos. 1–36; Wasserman, *Daumier Sculpture*, pp. 29ff.; Wasserman and Adhémar, in "Hypothèses sur les sculptures de Daumier," pp. 59ff.

5. The Philippon family sold the original busts to Maurice le Garrec in 1927. Between 1927 and 1965 several series of bronze casts were made of them. The clay originals have been in the Musée d'Orsay in Paris since 1980. See Anne Pinget and Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, *Musée d'Orsay: Catalogue sommaire illustré des sculptures* (Paris, 1986), pp. 118ff.

6. See Janet Seligman, *Figures of Fun: The Caricature-Statuettes of Jean-Pierre Dantan* (London, 1957).

with Charles Philippon, the founder and presiding spirit of the satirical newspaper *La Caricature*. The busts became Philippon's property, evidently soon after they were made, and remained in his family's possession until well into the twentieth century.⁵

Philippon hired the young Daumier for the editorial staff of *La Caricature* and soon recognized his talent as a portrait caricaturist; perhaps he was already aware of his gifts as a sculptor. Philippon may possibly even have encouraged Daumier to sculpt because he envisaged a display of portrait busts in the windows of *La Caricature*'s offices in the Passage Véro-Dodat. Such a show might have attracted the kind of attention and acclaim that the exhibition of Jean-Pierre Dantan's sculpted caricatures of famous personalities had recently received (fig. 35).⁶ Perhaps Philippon abandoned such plans because Daumier's "unprofessional" busts lacked the finish and polish the public admired.

But it is precisely their open, process-determined structure that provides a clue to their artistic function for Daumier. His portraits of politicians in *La Caricature* (and in its sister publication and eventual successor, *Le Charivari*) broke new ground in the history of caricature (fig. 36).



Fig. 33. *Prunelle*, ca. 1831–34. Bronze, marked MLG 5/30, h. 13 cm (5 1/8 in.). Private Collection



Fig. 34. *Guizot*, ca. 1831–34. Bronze, marked MLG 5/30, h. 21.5 cm (8 1/2 in.). Private Collection

They made less use of external distortion than earlier examples, and instead penetrated the psychology of the person portrayed. Their effectiveness was achieved by a highly subtle exposure and exaggeration of the subject's character (or, mostly, lack of character). But since these were portraits of specific living people, he gave close attention to physiognomic resemblance as well. Modeling in clay, a medium that allows continual forming and reforming, adding and taking away, is helpful in achieving the expressiveness and verisimilitude that result from a subtle balance of suggestion and representation.

Thus Daumier used the method of sculpture, for which he had a natural talent, to help him in creating certain lithographs. A close look at the busts themselves shows that they are concerned mainly with physiognomic expression rather than specifically with sculptural problems like mass, volume, or space. At the same time, their bozzettolike quality, their sketchiness, reveals a consciousness of the unfinished form as a stylistic vehicle and of the intrinsic value of process in artistic work.

The association of the statuette of Ratapoil (figs. 29, 30) with certain lithographs not only helps to clarify its iconographic significance but also



Fig. 35. Jean-Pierre Dantan, *Mathieu-Joseph-Bonaventure Orfila*, 1838. Bronze. Paris, Musée Carnavalet

provides precise indications for the dating of the sculpture, of which two plaster casts survive.⁷ In this image of a brutal hooligan and hired rabble-rouser created in 1851 (see fig. 38) posterity has been given a scathing characterization of the Bonapartism of Louis Napoleon, who at the end of 1851 toppled the Second Republic with a violent coup and had himself proclaimed emperor. Ratapoil is a close relative of Daumier's other great allegory of the spirit of the age, his Robert Macaire (see fig. 39). Daumier never made a sculpture of Macaire, nor did he employ the statuette of Ratapoil in the creation of specific lithographs, as he had with his busts of the members of parliament. Why, then, did he model him in clay?

The Ratapoil combined current political issues with matters of universal validity. The figure is the embodiment not just of a Bonapartist thug but also of violence and malice in general, perhaps of evil itself. What little we see of Ratapoil's body resembles the skeleton of Death, which was—by the way—in current use in political iconography (fig. 37). Compared to Daumier's lithographs, the statuette is an intensification: it sums up the character of Ratapoil beyond all narrative action. Its expressiveness derives from the relationship between inside and outside: the inner quality of pure menace shows itself outwardly in the way the thin body's forms are revealed beneath the long coat. With this intensification the sculpture comes to resemble Daumier's drawings, which can also compress attitudes and behavior into body language, as for instance in *A Confidence* (cat. no. 91).

In addition, the Ratapoil statuette performs a specifically sculptural function: it is Daumier's contribution to the genre of the "monument," the memorial statues that played such a prominent role in nineteenth-century art. Daumier had already sketched similar monuments in several lithographs (see fig. 40), but now, in the very special historic moment of the collapse of republican hopes and the triumph of ruthless dictatorship, he carried out one of these designs: whimsical satiric fancy has turned into bitter reality. In a single stroke, Daumier erected a monument to his time and created a sculpture of timeless validity. In the context of this discussion, we see that on the one hand the piece fulfills functions similar to those of Daumier's drawings, namely reflection and intensification, and that on the other, because of the inherent definition of a monument, it is consciously conceived as sculpture in its own right.

Daumier's two relief sculptures of emigrants or refugees (see cat. no. 25) were created at the same time as the Ratapoil, either at the end of the 1840s or about 1851–52.⁸ The motif of an endless procession of heavily burdened men, women, and children is very frequently associated with the mass deportations that took place in the wake of the revolution of 1848 and Louis Napoleon's seizure of power in 1851. Be that as it may, the theme of the human caravan without beginning or end, without origin or destination

7. On the *Ratapoil* statuette, see Gobin, *Daumier sculpteur*, no. 61; Wasserman, *Daumier Sculpture*, pp. 161ff.; Adhémar, in "Hypothèses sur les sculptures de Daumier," pp. 75f.; Pinget and Le Normand-Romain, *Musée d'Orsay: Catalogue . . . des sculptures*, p. 118.
8. We show here only the so-called second version. For both reliefs, see Wasserman, *Daumier Sculpture*, pp. 174ff.; Adhémar, in "Hypothèses sur les sculptures de Daumier," p. 75; Pinget and Le Normand-Romain, *Musée d'Orsay: Catalogue . . . des sculptures*, pp. 118, 124f.
9. See M. I–27, I–56, I–57, I–215.

(the name “emigrants” or “refugees” merely serves as an aid for interpretation), is one that the *painter* Daumier used again and again until late in his life.⁹ His sculpted reliefs give the impression that he was in the process of preparing a pictorial idea for a painting. The procedure recalls the busts of the members of parliament; what is new is the closer correspondence of relief and painting. The artist’s systematic approach that is evident here suggests a kind of homegrown “academic” procedure.

In contrast to the classical tradition of relief sculpture, Daumier’s procession of emigrants emerges from the plane and disappears back into it—a sculptural language that anticipates Rodin’s *Gates of Hell*. Thus Daumier’s formal theme in this work is the emergence of volume and its subsequent regression back into the plane. By his lively treatment of surfaces and the rhythmic elaboration of masses he actually succeeds in producing the impression of a precisely defined movement, a laborious but steadily forward-striding advance. But a direct conversion of this structural element to drawing and painting was not possible. In a Daumier study (cat. no. 23), now in the Louvre, we see chalk, pen, and brush applied to paper in an attempt to recreate the plastic qualities produced by movement, but the drawing does not achieve the same density, the same rhythmically accented corporeality, nor does it achieve a satisfactory equivalent of the sculpture’s spatial values. In the end, Daumier chose for the painted versions of this theme a composition that was appropriate to painting: the refugees move diagonally into or out of the depths with rhythm established by means of colors and variations in tonal values (see cat. no. 24).

Daumier did not consider himself a sculptor, despite his obvious talent for this art form—except perhaps in one instance, when he was making the “monument” of Ratapoil. His sculptures neither stand by themselves, separate from his drawings, paintings, and graphic works, nor do they define his artistic quintessence. Rather, they fulfill certain functions in relation to his work as a whole.

For an artist like Daumier, who is primarily interested in the presence of figures in space, in kinetic energy, and in the language of bodies and physiognomy as elements in the depiction of *life*, sculpture has the appealing virtue of enabling him to begin by placing his subject in three-dimensional space, comprehending it physically, as a thing of substance. This motive first becomes evident in the busts of the members of parliament: they capture the living quality of the lampooned politicians, which is then reproduced in the lithographs.

Years later, Daumier returned to this method in the reliefs of the emigrants, and did so at a time when he was beginning to work seriously as a painter. The activity of sculpting now assumed for him a more systematic character. In his compositional concept for a painting, Daumier, who had



Fig. 36. *Docteur Prunelle*. Lithograph, published in *La Caricature*, June 27, 1833 (D. 60). 259 × 185 mm (10¼ × 7⅞ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Edwin De T. Bechtel, 1957

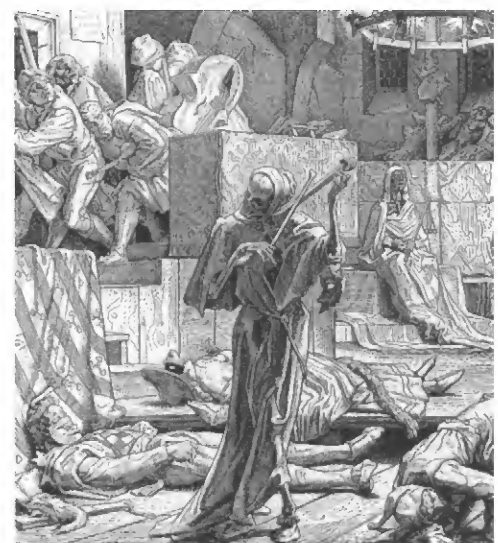


Fig. 37. Alfred Rethel, *Death as the Foe*, 1851. Woodcut, 309 × 275 mm. Frankfurt am Main, Städelches Kunstinstitut



Fig. 38. *Aux Champs-Élysées: Ratapoil*. Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, July 12, 1851 (D. 2126). 262 × 215 mm (10³/₈ × 8¹/₂ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922

no academic training, made use of classical relief—a form which he nonetheless proceeded to use in a highly idiosyncratic manner. This time, the labor of sculpting led to a realization and an analysis of the structural differences among sculpture, drawing, and painting.

With the *Ratapoil*, the systematic use of sculpture was developed and brought to a conclusion, for Daumier had now dealt with all the classic problems of sculpture: of the portrait bust, the relief, and the statue. He had explored the specific possibilities of sculpture, especially with regard to movement and to the relationship between body and space. The insights he gained were of a structural nature, and though they could not be transferred to drawing and painting on the immediate representational level, they could be employed on the structural level. Thus sculpture played an experimental role for Daumier as it did later for Matisse and Picasso. Let us examine this aspect more closely from another vantage point.

In the early fifties, perhaps also about 1855, Daumier made drawings and paintings of La Fontaine's fable *The Thieves and the Ass*. A vigorous chalk drawing, now in the Louvre (cat. no. 32), is a sketch of the composition: in the foreground, two thieves are fighting over a stolen donkey, while a passerby stealthily rides away on the animal. In this drawing, Daumier's interest is not taken up by the fable and its moral lesson. Instead, he



Fig. 39. Robert Macaire (Thiers). Lithograph (central image of triple panel), published in *La Caricature*, July 30, 1835 (D. 124)



Fig. 40. *Projet de statues pour orner... la Bourse* (detail). Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, July 8, 1850 (D. 2024). 271 × 219 mm (10³/₄ × 8⁵/₈ in.)

concentrates his attention on the bodies in action, and particularly on the bandit who is sprawled on top of his accomplice and is beating him with his fists.

For his treatment of the two fighting thieves, Daumier could make use of a lithograph he had published in 1845 (fig. 43). However, the dynamism of the wrestling bodies, which constitutes a principal difference between the lithograph and the drawing, harks back to another example. The view of the muscular back, the way one arm is stretched forward and the other is pulled back, recalls a sculpture Daumier knew well. It was the work of one of his friends, the sculptor Antoine-Louis Barye,¹⁰ and it was entitled *A Jaguar Devouring a Hare* (fig. 42).

This half-life-sized sculpture, which had caused a sensation at the Salon of 1850–51 (where Daumier was also represented),¹¹ is one of the principal works by this sculptor, who had a fundamental influence (not only with his animal figures) on the development of nineteenth-century sculpture.¹² The importance of Barye's achievement lies in the increasingly conscious, systematic work he did on certain structural problems of sculpture, especially those involving kinetic energy and the distribution of masses. The subjects themselves—usually exotic beasts of prey, in their elegance and wildness—supplied him with a pretext to explore and develop a modern, genuinely

10. Barye was present at the social gathering of a circle of artist friends, including Daumier, Millet, Rousseau, and others, who conceived the plan for a large cycle of illustrations of the *Fables* of La Fontaine (see Bruce Laughton, *The Drawings of Daumier and Millet* [New Haven, 1991], pp. 207f.).
11. After the closing of the Salon of 1850–51, the French government ordered a bronze cast of the *Jaguar*, which is now in the collection of the Louvre, along with the original plaster model.
12. With regard to Antoine-Louis Barye, see Stuart Pivar, *The Barye Bronzes* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1974); Glenn F. Benge, *Antoine-Louis Barye; Sculptor of Romantic Realism* (University Park, Pa., 1984); Martin Sonnabend, *Antoine-Louis Barye (1795–1875): Studien zum plastischen Werk* (Munich, 1988).



Fig. 41. Eugène Delacroix, *Roman Shepherd*, ca. 1825. Oil on canvas, 33 × 41 cm (13 × 16 1/8 in.). Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlungen, Kunstmuseum

sculptural way of thinking that eventually influenced Rodin, among others. As an artist cut off from the market of large state commissions, Barye was in a similar economic and social situation as Daumier, and he produced the numerous small bronzes on which his fame principally rests for the same reason Daumier made lithographs—to earn a living.

The origins of *A Jaguar Devouring a Hare* are complex and far-reaching. In this work, Barye treated a theme that he had pursued in the 1820s with Eugène Delacroix: the force of instinct in beasts and men equally, which is depicted here in the creeping motion driven by animal energy. Delacroix had formulated this around 1825 in a small painting of a wounded brigand by the water (fig. 41). When Delacroix and Barye explored this motif in their joint studies of lion cadavers in the Jardin des Plantes in 1827,¹³ the physical exhaustion displayed by the brigand became generalized as animal behavior. Barye's sculpture of the *Jaguar Devouring a Hare*, made in 1850, represents a synthesis of years of study. It is the concentrated transformation of kinetic energy into sculpture.

This was most likely the reason why Daumier, who was friendly with several sculptors and knew their work well, chose precisely this sculpture to study in drawing. His study pursues the theme of brute force and the ways



Fig. 42. Antoine-Louis Barye, *A Jaguar Devouring a Hare*, ca. 1850. Cast bronze, l. 105 cm (41 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre

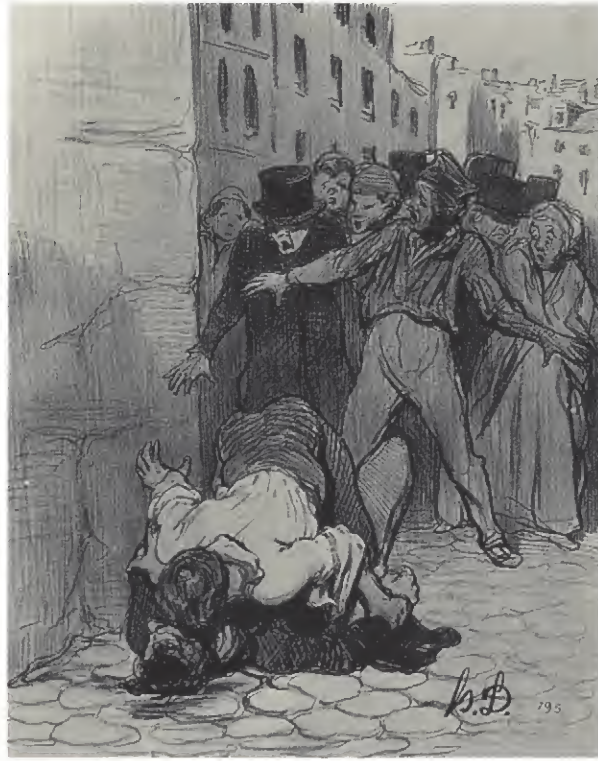


Fig. 43. *Mais pis que j'vous dis qu'c'est des amis. . .* Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, August 8, 18, and 23, 1845 (D. 1387). 242 × 191 mm (9 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922

and means of formally bringing it onto the page. Contours are drawn in such a way that they follow body volume; the leverage of the hip and the shoulders, the countermovements of the forward-thrusting and the pulled-back arm translate the powerful momentum of the sculpture into line. The drawing corresponds to Barye's sculpture, too, in its anatomical conception and construction, in the way the physical properties of the body are emphasized, the shoulder blades, the ribs, the hip. Significantly, in both of the painted versions of *The Thieves and the Ass* (see cat. no. 33), Daumier withdrew the urgent forward-driving motion he had transferred from Barye's sculpture to his drawing. In the painting, the bestial life-and-death struggle becomes again what it is in the fable, a fistfight between two tumbling ruffians.

What interests us in this connection is Daumier's procedure. For the motif of the two struggling thieves he looked back to his lithograph (fig. 43), and to make the theme work in his painting, he deepened his knowledge of the way bodies in action behave by studying a piece of sculpture. As a result, the narrative aspect recedes completely into the background and the study of two interlocked figures becomes prominent. While the lithograph may have been occasioned by an observation made in the street, here, faced with

13. See E. T. Kliman, "Delacroix' Lions and Tigers," *Art Bulletin* 64 (1982), pp. 446–66; F. L. Loffredo, "Des recherches communes de Barye et de Delacroix au Laboratoire d'Anatomie comparée du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1982 (1984), pp. 147–57.



Fig. 44. *Two Dogs Fighting* (M. 825).
Charcoal, 140 × 197 mm (5½ × 7¾ in.).
Bremen, Dr. Günter Busch

the problem of how to express dynamism and power as such, Daumier sought to learn from sculpture.

We find a very similar case in a comparable drawing of a subject that is relatively rare in Daumier's work, two fighting dogs (fig. 44). While the scene, like that of the fighting ruffians, might have been taken from the life of the streets, the way Daumier drew it, capturing both the volumes of the bodies and their dynamics with a powerful contour line but never losing sight of anatomy, makes it doubtful that the drawing was the product of spontaneous observation or of memory. The sculptural conception rather suggests a knowledge of the animal sculpture of his time.¹⁴

The drawing of the two dogs may have been made in 1856 in connection with a thematically similar lithograph.¹⁵ In the case of *The Thieves and the Ass* we can be sure that this picture was produced in the first half or the middle of the 1850s. These works were made at a time when Daumier was seeking the tools to develop his skills as a painter—not the least of the reasons why he also sculpted. In studying Barye's sculpture, he tried to adapt his friend's insights and skills to his own purposes. That this procedure was indeed a means of study is also shown by the fact that Daumier did not continue this manner of drawing; he was on the way toward a style of his own, but in order to reach that goal, he had to translate all he could learn about structure from Barye's sculpture into the language of his own medium, especially drawing.

Unlike the practice of the Academy, which was based on imitation, Daumier did not school himself by following canonic models. When he studied or copied old masters, it was not to acquire their style, but for the same reason he made drawings of Barye's sculpture and worked at sculpture himself, to learn the structure of form, or, one might also say, its function. Daumier's studies, apparently a spontaneous outgrowth of his abilities and inclinations, resemble an artistic attitude of the kind that was further developed by Cézanne and the masters of classical modernism, namely the attempt to formulate the laws of one's artistic means—and not a descriptive repertoire of motifs—out of one's own investigations. For Daumier, it was drawing that became the central field of experimentation between lithography, sculpture, and painting.

The sculptural quality in Daumier's art, which is rooted in his talent and his fascination with vital and expressive human presence, is intimately connected with the high degree of abstraction in his drawings. For these do not aim specifically at representation but attempt to suggest the sensory experience of abstract concepts.

Finally, the observations of a later artist shed light on the significance that working with sculpture evidently had for Daumier. In 1899, Matisse made his first sculpture, a copy of Barye's *Jaguar Devouring a Hare* (fig. 45),

14. Compare this drawing, for example, with the dogs in Barye's *Fallow Deer and Greyhounds* (Pivar, *The Barye Bronzes*, no. A 121).

15. D. 2749.

16. From Dominique Fourcade, ed., *Henri Matisse: Ecrits et propos sur l'art* (Paris, 1972), p. 70.

17. Quoted from *De Carpeaux à Matisse*, exh. cat. (Lille, 1982), p. 260.



Fig. 45. Henri Matisse, *Jaguar Devouring a Hare*, after Barye, ca. 1899–1901. Bronze, 22.9 × 57.2 cm (9 × 22½ in.). © VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn, 1992, Succession Matisse

and justified this study as follows: “I sculpted because what interested me in painting was to create order in my brain. I changed the medium, I took up clay in order to take a vacation from painting, in which I had done everything I was capable of doing at the moment. That is, I did it for the sake of organization, to bring order into my feelings, to search for a method that would be absolutely right for me. When I found it in sculpture, it helped me in my painting . . . ,”¹⁶ and “I made my sculpture *A Jaguar Devouring a Hare* after Barye, and in doing so I identified with the passion of the wild beast, which is expressed in the rhythm of the masses.”¹⁷



Fig. 46. *Five Studies for the Prodigal Son* (cat. no. 36). Pen and ink, black and gray wash, 200 × 140 mm (7⁷/₈ × 5¹/₂ in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection

Movement and Time in the Drawings of Daumier: “Still and Still Moving”¹

JUDITH WECHSLER

In five sketches of the prodigal son on a single sheet (fig. 46) Daumier drew various poses of repentance and comfort with lines in search of the proper effect.² He tested the inclinations of submission: knees bent, back curved, head bowed, arms held close to the body, the son's head on his father's chest, like a child burrowing in on a hug. In the most finished sketch with its deep black wash between father and son, the father (shown in a slightly different pose in three drawings on the page) bends over his son, one hand placed on his shoulder, one on his back. Daumier has tried the head in three positions, the two left tentative, more like the other drawings, suggest greater reserve. Finally, the father, legs spread for balance, comforts the son. The lines and positions, seeking out the form and meaning, may suggest Daumier's ambiguity, or that of the father.

The representation of movement, as the essence of a good drawing, and the suggestion of time, arrested or passing, have been concerns of artists and theorists, going back to Leon Battista Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Leonardo encouraged students to make quick sketches “of people's actions the moment they meet the eye.” *Pentimenti*, the lines which indicate the various positions the artist tries, the alternatives of choice, are seen in drawings since the Renaissance. (The French term for them, *repentirs*, was first used in the mid-eighteenth century.³) The presence of repeated attempts, the traces of possibility, are clues to the artist's thought. Their preserved markings suggest movement in themselves.

One of the principal texts on representing movement and time is by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, in his essay *Laocoön*, first published in 1766 and translated into French in 1802.⁴

If the artist can never make use of more than a single moment in ever-changing nature, and if the painter in particular can use this moment only with reference to a single vantage point, while the works of both painter and sculptor are created not merely to be given a glance but to be contemplated—contemplated repeatedly and at length—then it is evident that this single moment and the point from which it is viewed cannot be chosen with too great a regard for its effect.⁵

1. T. S. Eliot, “East Coker,” in *Four Quartets*.
2. Daumier drew the subject of the prodigal son on seven sheets, M. 753–759, with one to seven figures on each page. K. E. Maison noted, in *Honoré Daumier: Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings, Watercolours and Drawings* (London, 1968), that Daumier probably intended to make a painting on the subject, though it was never realized.
3. For the etymology of *repentirs* and a brief history of its practice and significance, see Françoise Viatte, “Tisser une corde de sable,” *Repentirs* (Paris, 1991), pp. 27–46.
4. Many of Lessing's texts were translated into French in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. While we have no proof that he was read by practicing artists, his work was widely known.
5. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Edward Allen McCormick (Baltimore, 1984), p. 19.



Fig. 47. *The Sideshow* (cat. no. 103). Pen and ink, black and red chalk, gray wash, conté crayon, and gouache, 270 × 368 mm (10⁵/₈ × 14¹/₂ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

The issue addressed by Lessing was of concern to artists though I do not think they followed or challenged his precepts as such. In fact, Lessing was arguing here for the superiority of literature over the visual arts in its capacity for narrative. But artists demonstrated that one could in fact imply more than a single moment in a still image.

For forty years Daumier made caricatures for the popular illustrated press, his images taken in at a glance and probably only once. He captured people and events as if in an arrested moment. To trigger an immediate response, he, and others, exaggerated expressions, poses, and actions. And yet, Daumier kept within anatomical credibility in both his caricatures and his drawings.⁶ Daumier's drawings adopted some of the traits of caricature in images that deliver their message through action. His art is concerned with the moment, but how does one invite prolonged contemplation in a glancing art? For Daumier there is a complicated relationship between moment, momentum, and the momentous. They are not the same as the momentaneous or the momentary.⁷

For Lessing, poetry was the place to express human action in time, painting is best at showing human bodies in repose. He warned against depicting moments of great action.

Painting can use only a single moment of an action in its coexisting compositions and must therefore choose the one which is most suggestive and from which the preceding and succeeding actions are most easily comprehensible.

In the full course of an emotion, no point is less suitable for this than its climax.⁸

Daumier captured the whole in a flash—not just the anticipation of resolution, but the final point in an action.⁹ In *The Sideshow* (fig. 47) the barker points excitedly, at full stretch, to a canvas behind him picturing a crocodile chasing a man. To his right is a skeletal figure in red, braced against a balustrade; shoulders hunched, mouth open, eyes agog, he has reached the limits of that move. His expression is frightened and frightening. The fat lady parts the curtain as far as it will go (calling to mind Delacroix's slave in *Les Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* [1834] and prefiguring Picasso's works of the same subject [1955]), suggesting the space behind the space. The intervals between the figures are part of the rhythm and drama, which intensifies, from the stationary and closely grouped musicians on the left, to the extreme gestures of the barkers and woman on the right.¹⁰

Daumier developed a new repertoire of physiognomy, bearing, and gesture to convey contemporary types and situations.¹¹ The traditional categories for the expression of emotion in art, schematized by Le Brun in the seventeenth century, were inadequate for the complex and ambivalent encounters of everyday nineteenth-century urban life. A "painter of modern life,"¹² Daumier took much of his material from the contemporary working fabric of Paris: lawyers, butchers, couriers, mothers, people on buses and trains, actors, street acrobats, and musicians.

Certain professions have characteristic gestures, like the lawyer's assertive and accusatory pointing hand (fig. 119 and cat. nos. 82, 93, 95) or the barker with the outstretched arm (see figs. 47, 48). Daumier played on the paradox of posing, posture, and imposture. Gesture is revelatory and in the case of the lawyers and performers can suggest inauthenticity. People are captured in their external signs.

Class distinctions are made in the deportment of figures: the working-class nursing mother guzzling soup (cat. no. 40) contrasted with the lawyer's self-conscious and constrained stance (cat. no. 88). There are differences in gestures according with gender: men with legs spread and arms akimbo, seated in a bus, are contrasted with the cramped position of the women; pompous lawyers and defeated mothers are pictured in the antechamber of a court (cat. no. 78).¹³ Daumier's technique, his way of drawing and capturing characteristic poses and gestures, is directly related to his sense of the human comedy.

6. Michel Melot makes this point as well in his "Daumier and Art History: Aesthetic Judgement/Political Judgement," *Oxford Art Journal* 11, no. 1 (1988), p. 7.

7. My thanks to Christopher Ricks for this association and other thoughts and suggestions.

8. Lessing, *Laocoön*, pp. 78 and 19.

9. In all fairness, I must quote another sentence of Lessing (*Laocoön*, p. 25): "How many things would seem incontestable in theory had not genius succeeded in proving the opposite by fact."

10. Philip Rawson observes that "the left is our point of entry into a design; the approaching glance travels in from the left, and the closure is at the right" (*Drawing*, 2d ed. [Philadelphia, 1987], p. 215).

11. I discuss this issue in detail in my book *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris* (Chicago and London, 1982).

12. See Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," written probably in late 1859 to 1860 and published in 1863. In *Baudelaire: Selected Writings on Art and Artists*, trans. P. E. Charvet (Cambridge, 1981).

13. This theme is developed in my article "Daumier: Gender and Gesture," in *Femmes d'esprit: Women in Daumier's Caricature*, ed. Kirsten Powell and Elizabeth C. Childs (Middlebury, Vt., 1990), pp. 47–64.



Fig. 48. *Study for a Sideshow* (cat. no. 99). Black chalk, 335 × 251 mm (13³/₁₆ × 9⁷/₈ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

Daumier often constructed scenes of confrontation and contrast—one figure gesticulates, the other responds: the lawyer and his client, the saltimbanque and the straight man, the thin clown and the fat lady. He used the device of action and reaction, a basic principle in mime known to Daumier through his attendance at the Théâtre des Funambules. In a still image this stratagem can extend the sense of time. For example, in *Study for a Sideshow* (fig. 48), a sideshow barker is shown with arm outstretched, wielding a pointer. His sidekick reacts to his dramatic gesture with “the take” of surprise (as animators call the pose): everything contracted, arms flexed at the elbow, hands raised, knees bent. In some drawings, Daumier drew only the response. In *Etude d’un acteur* (M. 450) “the take” is recorded at the moment the reaction has registered. We see the figure arrested in a pose which would be transitory.

Daumier had a keen sense of the body’s weight, the accommodation to burdens, the tug of responsibility, as in *Study for the relief “The Emigrants”* (cat. no. 23), where the strained forward motion shares some impulse with larger political issues, as it so often does in Daumier’s work. In the balance of the body against forces of weight or wind, as in *A Woman Fleeing against the Wind* (fig. 71), contrapposto becomes a means of showing strain and despair. In *A Longshoreman* (cat. no. 12), the man’s bony back is overly arched as if he were giving out under the weight he carries as he walks up the narrow plank. There are no repeated lines here, all is weight and shadow.

There are certain conventions for indicating speed of movement that Daumier used, like the fluttering robes of the lawyer (cat. nos. 82, 94, and fig. 119), or hair streaming in the wind (cat. no. 38). In *A Running Boy* (cat. no. 16) faint repeated pencil lines, sparse charcoal markings (broken contours) are played against the animated shadow running along the figure and ground. The boy is all fear, energy, and agility. The flared upward turn of his trousers suggests speed: the Futurist Umberto Boccioni would develop this device some sixty years later.

Lessing maintained that human bodies are the subject matter of art because they exist in space; action, or objects that follow one another, are the property of poetry.¹⁴ Daumier by distributing the action, the effects of movement over time, went beyond Lessing. In *A Study of Female Dancers* (fig. 49) the subject is movement itself. (This is also one of Daumier’s few female nude studies.) One dancer steps across herself, arms trailing. Her supporting foot, hips, and arms have been in other places, as if swiveling around themselves until taking this step. What one does the other is about to do, and so the sense of movement is extended over time.

Stillness, scenes of contemplation or repose, need to appear lively as well. In the series of connoisseurs looking at art objects, Daumier made

14. “If painting, by virtue of its symbols or means of imitation, which it can combine in space only, must renounce the element of time entirely, progressive actions, by the very fact that they are progressive, cannot be considered to belong among its subjects. Painting must be content with coexistent actions or with mere bodies which, by their position, permit us to conjecture an action” (Lessing, *Laocoön*, p. 77).



Fig. 49. *A Study of Female Dancers* (cat. no. 21). Black chalk and conté crayon, 338 × 274 mm (13¹⁵/₁₆ × 10³/₄ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

looking an activity: the counterpoint of the connoisseurs' poses is the key to liveliness. In the *Art Lovers* (fig. 50), a squat man peers forward to take a close look at a small painting. The other foreground figures each assumes his own modest pose of regard, head inclined slightly forward, hands clasped behind the back. The poses suggest obeisance toward the object of art, the men accommodating their bodies to better their view.

The Connoisseur (cat. no. 77) suggests the intense concentration of a collector regarding a dynamic and robust sculpture of Venus, the line from



Fig. 50. *Art Lovers* (cat. no. 70). Charcoal, watercolor, and conté crayon, 262 × 193 mm (10³/₁₆ × 7⁷/₈ in.). The Cleveland Museum of Art, Dudley P. Allen Fund

hip to thigh repeated, head inclined toward the viewer. (“The roses had the look of flowers that are looked at” [T. S. Eliot, “Burnt Norton,” in *Four Quartets*].) The classical contrapposto of Venus is contrasted with the connoisseur’s casual but concentrated pose, legs crossed, feet turned slightly in, hands clasped.

Daumier’s focus is often on work and its hardships. His depictions of *parades* (sideshows) and other street performers are seen from the perspective of the grim performer. *Street Show* (cat. no. 116) pictures a thin frantic clown standing on a chair, gesticulating and proclaiming or singing to the beat of a drummer. The clown arches backward, and there is an echo of lines in the space around him. One arm is fixed and truncated, the hand sprouts like a growth from a severed branch; the other culminates in a scurry of lines that seems to work its way up to his torso. The drummer’s arm wielding the drumstick is shown in three positions, again forecasting a Futurist repetition.¹⁵

Even in the biblical, mythological, historical, and literary subjects which are somber and tragic, Daumier often chose anecdotal moments, emphasizing movement, usually through the contrast of figures. In the drawing of fugitives (cat. no. 26) one does not see from where they flee or to where they are headed, nor even the expression of their faces, Daumier depicts the weary treading. *Saint Sebastian* tied to the tree (cat. no. 28) is drawn with a clear and continuous line: the frantic angels flying about him are all blur and fury.

In *Centaur Abducting a Woman* (cat. no. 35), Daumier drew the sweep of action, the woman hoisted off the ground, reaching out and kicking in protest, her feet in several places. The centaur runs with all four legs outstretched as quadrupeds in art did before Muybridge’s photographs proved otherwise.

Lessing emphasized the importance of representing the permanent in art: “this single moment, if it is to receive immutable permanence from art, must express nothing transitory.”¹⁶ Daumier broke Lessing’s rules and drew transitory actions, particularly in his quotidian subjects and his saltimbanques. As Baudelaire wrote, “there is in the trivial things of life, in the daily changing of external things, a speed of movement that imposes upon the artist an equal speed of execution.”¹⁷ “Modernity is the transient, the fleeting, the contingent. . . .”¹⁸

Daumier further developed the equation for the representation of movement with the momentum of the drawn line.¹⁹ Through the trajectory and repetition of lines, Daumier depicted figures coming into being or being transformed. The sense of immediacy is as much in the medium and technique of drawing as in what is represented. The multiple contours do not delineate or delimit so much as they indicate the direction, force, and

15. Rawson, *Drawing*, p. 15: “Drawings are done with a point that moves. . . . Since such movement is the fundamental nature of drawing, the various styles and manners of representational drawing amount to techniques for crystallizing more or less strongly the implicit movement of lines. . . . There always lies at the bottom of every drawing an implied pattern of those movements through which it was created.”
16. Lessing, *Laocoön*, p. 20.
17. Baudelaire, “The Painter of Modern Life,” pp. 393–94.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 403.
19. The need for spontaneity in drawing was recognized even in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Students were encouraged to make quick sketches, *croquis*, in a pocket sketchbook (*carnet en poche*), as they had been since the Renaissance. In the course of the nineteenth century quick sketches became increasingly important as a way of capturing daily life and as a means of overcoming academic themes and practices. See Albert

flux of the movement, the energy in the action. Artists since Leonardo have used repetitions of lines to suggest motion. Movement implies extended moment. Daumier exaggerated this effect further in keeping the tentative and superseded markings: his working process is evident and becomes part of the conception. He has caught the paradox in which his art operates. As Baudelaire wrote, Daumier was a “painter of the fleeting moment and of all that it suggests of the eternal.”²⁰

For the next generation of painters and draughtsmen, Daumier suggested ways of capturing the sensation of a moment in an anecdote or narrative.²¹ With his great sense of motion and mobility, Daumier is the bridge to the sensate drawings of the Impressionists who are concerned with energy, immediacy, process, and change.

Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 1986), esp. pp. 24–35, 112, 166–81.

Daumier drawings range from *première pensées*, rough and quick sketches often in pen and ink, to finished drawings with watercolor and wash. Much preparatory work went into the finished drawings. See also Bruce Laughton, *The Drawings of Daumier and Millet* (New Haven, 1991).

20. Baudelaire, “The Painter of Modern Life,” p. 394.

21. Nicholas Wadley, *Impressionist and Post-Impressionist Drawing* (London, 1991), writes with insight and clarity about the influence of Delacroix and Daumier on Impressionist drawings.



Fig. 51. *The Artist in His Studio* (cat. no. 76). Pen and brown wash, 380 × 290 mm (15 × 11½ in.). Private Collection

The Artist and the Connoisseur in Daumier's Work

KLAUS HERDING

In 1803 William Blake wrote: "I am either too low or too highly prized; / When elate I am envied, when meek I'm despised."¹ In these two lines Blake succeeded in articulating one of the new century's central cultural tenets. Throughout the culture artists would occupy ambivalent and internally conflicting positions; they would be both envied and disdained, and as a social category they would possess no secure place in the social order. The ensuing isolation and marginalization would lead, for many, to severe psychic problems. Within the culture itself, the very concepts of isolation and solitude were perceived as specific to artists' lives and were thus represented. Numerous artists reflected, in a variety of texts, on this phenomenon, and their collective comments provide us with a particular view of the cultural life of the period. In 1847 Delacroix noted in his journal: "I have been having bitter thoughts about the artistic profession—what isolation, what a sacrifice of almost all of the emotions on which conventional lives are founded."² Two years later Charles Meryon expressed a similar complaint, that "artists were formerly able to devote themselves to perfecting their talents under the protection of the mighty... though there is certainly no shortage of those who are gifted today, they no longer have the leisure, the serenity that only such protection can provide."³ Later in 1854 we find Courbet writing: "In the society in which we live one does not have to look too far to find stupidity. There are so many fools about that one is hesitant to expose one's talent for fear of finding oneself in total isolation as a result."⁴

For Delacroix solitude and loneliness were part of an artist's fate, for Meryon the situation resulted in a deep nostalgic longing for times past, and for Courbet this condition led to a staunch commitment to hold his own against prevailing academic tastes. In contrast Daumier left behind few verbal comments on the condition of the artist with the exception of his now famous statement that the artist ought to be attuned to his times and to attend to its problems. In his body of drawings, however, this particular statement is worked through a uniquely personal and an extremely subtle form of analysis. These thoughts can be seen as reflected in two works which, while small in format, are of considerable significance and which

1. *The Poems of William Blake*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (London, 1971), p. 475.
2. See the entry for February 3, 1847, in *Eugène Delacroix, Journal, 1822–1863*, ed. André Joubin (Paris, 1981), p. 127.
3. Letter from Meryon to Foley; discussed in Gustave Geffroy, *Charles Meryon* (Paris, 1926), pp. 29–34.
4. Letter to Bruyas, in Pierre Courthion, ed., *Courbet raconté par lui-même et par ses amis* (Geneva, 1948–50), vol. 2, pp. 84f. Regarding the theme of isolation, see also Adeline Walter, *Die Einsamkeit des Künstlers als Bildthema 1770–1900* (Hofheim/Taunus, 1983).



Fig. 52. *The Connoisseur* (cat. no. 77). Pen and ink, wash, watercolor, conté crayon, and gouache over black chalk, 438 × 355 mm (17¼ × 14 in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929

need to be read in relation to one another. These are *The Artist in His Studio* (fig. 51) and *The Connoisseur* (fig. 52). Both of these works were done shortly after 1860 at a time when Daumier could not work in lithography and was thus forced to work out his thoughts in the medium of drawing. Given their particular context it is small wonder that the works seem so very personal and meditative and they work to thematize the attempt to reconcile internal and external realities and expectations through artistic form. In each we are presented with a solitary figure engrossed in the contemplation of artworks, but their aesthetic gratification is interpreted in radically different ways in the two works.

To begin with *The Artist in His Studio*, we are initially struck with the meagerness of his surroundings; the room is practically bare with no visible signs of even basic comforts. It is harshly lit by a window opening which is placed so high that it resembles the window in a prisoner's cell (this at least was an imaginary hardship which Daumier himself did not have to contend with, for we are told that his own studio on the Ile Saint-Louis was possessed of abundant light).⁵

Below that opening there are lines like crossed bars that reinforce the resemblance to a prison. Severe right angles, wide rays of light, and a

5. See Jacques Lethève, *La vie quotidienne des artistes français au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1968), p. 51 (based on Théodore de Banville and Gustave Geffroy): "Daumier habita . . . au 9 du quai d'Anjou dans une vaste pièce à baie vitrée. . . ." One could also think of a monk's cell, and this would fit in well with the nineteenth-century artist's view of himself; see Maurice Z. Shroder, *Icarus: The Image of the Artist in French Romanticism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p. 170.



Fig. 53. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Artist in His Studio*, ca. 1629. Oil on canvas, 25 × 31.5 cm (9⁷/₈ × 12³/₈ in.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



Fig. 54. Francisco Goya, *The Artist in His Studio*, ca. 1790–95. Oil on canvas, 42 × 28 cm (16⁵/₈ × 11¹/₈ in.). Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando

complete absence of domestic detail dominate the scene. The harshness of this boxlike room is matched by the spare lines of the artist's pen. He has provided the figure and the few objects on view in the picture with only summary outlines. The theatrical lighting and the minimal number of props are reminiscent of some of Jacques-Louis David's work. However the degree to which these objects seem to lack in concrete substance until the light hits them and defines them through shadow anticipates the compositional technique of Cézanne. Daumier's rudimentary composition, reduced to only the most necessary elements, serves to underscore the sense of a new departure. The young Rembrandt once portrayed his own studio as being similarly barren (fig. 53). There, as here, the absence of other work indicates the artist's intention to embark on a radically new beginning. This is why Rembrandt too declined to show us the painting he had begun. We find a similar phenomenon in Goya (fig. 54), but in this representation the artist is actually working on a new painting, which serves to spur our curiosity. Daumier, by contrast, denies the manual aspect and conceals all of the tools of his trade; he doesn't even show us his paints and brushes. His art is meant to prove itself as an intellectual concept. The ability to abstract is what most distinguishes Daumier's imagination.

The artist's two easels repeat and vary the harsh right angles of this interior. Each of them tips slightly forward, so that they appear to bow to each other. The one on the right supports a large, light-colored, and almost bare canvas save for a few sketchy strokes. The one on the left, seen from the back and in shadow, holds a second, smaller picture. The contrast between light and dark and the discrepancy in size between the two canvases alludes to the fact that these are two very different kinds of paintings. Their dominant positions correspond to the size of the seated painter—a giant of a man; even sitting down he nearly fills his studio. Bright light is falling on him, yet his face remains in shadow in a manner customary for the iconography of Melancholy.⁶ The shadow gives his features a masklike quality—Daumier's love of the theater coming into play.⁷ The figure of the artist too is made up of light and shadow; the essential contrasts of the picture as a whole are concentrated in his person. The artist sits in contemplation between the two easels. While the larger canvas suggests an allegorical painting (one thinks of his proposal for a "Republic" with her children),⁸ the smaller format is that of a genre painting. However it is this second one, viewed only from the back and thus hidden from the viewer, which is the one that according to tradition holds forth the promise of something new and unexpected.⁹ It is this side which stands for innovation. It may be that the larger canvas is meant to represent a work intended for public display while the smaller represents one which is destined for more private locations; in any case, his hesitation suggests that the artist is weighing various options, wavering between possible artistic approaches and skeptical of all of them. Indeed, this was Daumier's dilemma. So much of modern painting, certainly that of the Impressionists, was alien to him.¹⁰ On the other hand he absolutely despised the affected and hackneyed salon painting that Baudelaire characterized as "le chic et le poncif."¹¹ With his own brand of historical painting, which may have proven to be an acceptable artistic option, he was unable to gain public acceptance. The drawing clearly poses the fundamental question of how the artist—unable to gain public commissions and left to his own devices without the conventional guidelines of theme and style to inform his activities—is to function artistically from this point on.

The large-format canvas meant to Courbet, but also to Delacroix, large (or grand) in the figurative sense. But similarly to Delacroix, who also preferred a smaller format when he worked for himself,¹² one notes that Daumier has his alter-ego painter turning his back on the canvas with the grander dimensions. What then is the image of the artist which Daumier is here promoting? Ordinarily, artistic creativity is pictorially symbolized by the observing eye and the working hand. But here we see neither pencil nor brushes, and there is not a hint of the outside world or a waiting model

6. Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn und Melancholie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), p. 413 (in the English edition [London, 1964], p. 290).

7. On occasion Daumier includes a mask in his portrayals of the creative, reflective artist or art lover, one that gazes at him like a muse. See M. 363, D. 1556, and cat. no. 77.

8. On the basis of his oil sketch (which was awarded eleventh place in the 1848 competition), Daumier was given the commission to paint a large version for an honorarium of 500 francs, but it was never completed.

9. Recalling emblemata that include the notion of the *tabula rasa*, it is possible to think of either the empty canvas or the one turned away from us as standing for *inventio*. I am indebted to Monika Wagner (Hamburg) for this suggestion.

10. It is unclear just how far one ought to apply this generalization; in any case, Daumier was adamant in his insistence that a painting by Monet be removed

which might refer to theme or subject matter. Their exclusion is deliberate. Daumier offers no solutions. It is his intention that the viewer confront the problem as well and participate in the artist's ruminations. To this end he heightens the sense of extreme concentration by providing his artist with half-closed eyes and tight, pinched lips. Turning him in on himself, he introduces an element of defiant self-reliance. His artist no longer feels obligated to reproduce external reality, rather he demands of himself a kind of conceptual art, one that is solely the product of his imagination.

Daumier has posed his artist with his legs crossed, conventionally an indication of ease and relaxation. However in this case the conflicting lines of light and shadow and the figure's earnest expression suggest the combination of heroic determination and melancholy that signals self-reliance. As early as the Renaissance melancholy had been depicted in such a pose, as in Carpaccio's *Job*, for example.¹³ In Daumier's case, this added touch is a bitter and ironic commentary on the figure of the modern, independent, self-confident artist. However the intensity of this artist's musings reveals that, for better or worse, he is completely on his own, free of any kind of higher authority.¹⁴ This is why Daumier invests him with a touch of the monumental. There is even a hint of the laurel wreath in the way he shaped his hair. Balzac would have approved, for to him the true hero was a man who surrendered himself completely to his art.¹⁵ For a hero, Daumier's painter strikes an admittedly less than monumental pose; his crossed legs also suggest that he knows himself to be alone. Yet his head has something of the pathos of a portrait of a classical philosopher. The figure's ambiguity and the internal contradictions set in motion by these various references appear to reflect the dilemma of a thinker such as Baudelaire, who at the same time upheld art's ancient, "eternal" role, and insisted on its more ephemeral, "modern" role of mirroring contemporary life.

For all its casualness, Daumier's figure breathes something of the heroism that Baudelaire considered necessary for the constitution of all modern artists, obliged as they are to forever reassert their independence. For Baudelaire, Daumier represented a prime example of the kind of heroic effort required of the artist who, largely unappreciated and with no outside support, must seek to maintain his sense of self-worth exclusively through the efforts and products of his own creative imagination. Baudelaire extolled him as the opposite of the typically "spoiled child" among the painters of the time, for whom imagination served only as "a hazard and a burden."¹⁶ For Daumier, he wrote, "the model is more of an obstacle than a help," then added, "it can even happen that when confronted with a model with all of its concrete detail, men like Daumier . . . who have long been accustomed to exercise their memory and stock it with images feel frustrated and as though they are constrained from employing their own special

from a dealer's show window. Regarding Daumier's vacillating political and aesthetic opinions, see T. J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848–1851* (London, 1973).

11. Charles Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Claude Pichois (Paris, 1976), vol. 2, p. 468.
12. See J. J. Spector, "An Interpretation of Delacroix's *Michelangelo in His Studio*," in *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Art*, ed. Mary Mathews Gedo (Hillsdale, N.J., and London, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 107–31, here p. 111.
13. In his *Meditation on the Passion*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1911 (11.18).
14. G. F. W. Hegel, "Ästhetik [1835]," *Werke in 20 Bänden* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980), vol. 13, pp. 50f.
15. Shroder, *Icarus*, p. 103: "The hero is the man who devotes himself to study . . . in any area."
16. Baudelaire, "Salon de 1859," *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 2, pp. 608–82, here p. 613.



Fig. 55. Eugène Delacroix, *Michelangelo in His Studio*, 1849–50. Oil on canvas, 40 × 32 cm (15¾ × 12⅝ in.). Montpellier, Musée Fabre

17. Baudelaire, “Le peintre de la vie moderne [1863/1868],” *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 2, p. 698.
18. In 1857 he wanted to “investigate the philosophical and artistic importance of this unique man” (“Quelques caricaturistes français,” *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 2, p. 553), and in another place he calls him “observer, flaneur, philosophe . . .” (“Le peintre de la vie moderne,” *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 2, p. 687).
19. In 1867 his friend Pothey described him as he had depicted himself—as Don Quixote. Alexandre Pothey, *Exposition Universelle: L’Art à Paris en 1867* (Paris, 1867), cited in Eugène Bouvy, *Daumier: L’Oeuvre gravé du maître* (Paris, 1933), no. 972 (illustrated in the present catalogue, fig. 141). See

abilities.”¹⁷ We now begin to grasp more clearly why the studio in this drawing is so empty: it is the very absence of the model, of outside stimulus, that allows the imagination to take wing. It is this form of intense self-absorption that truly defines Daumier as a modern, and it is this quality in him that led Baudelaire to refer to him on more than one occasion as a “philosopher.”¹⁸

Ultimately, Daumier is telling us in this drawing that the artist who immerses himself in his own creative process is condemning himself to a prisonlike isolation, an ambiguous melancholy, while at the same time a condition of great conviction that he himself—hence his identification with the figure of Don Quixote¹⁹—obviously experienced again and again. Victor Hugo’s “bonheur d’être triste”²⁰ is somewhat similar to this condition described by Daumier, even more so the despairing, yet creative state of mind that Delacroix is said to have courted when he worked. Just a few years before, in fact, Delacroix had dealt with a quite similar conflict, a

veritable psychomachy, in his *Michelangelo in His Studio* (fig. 55), suffering from his identification with that universal artist and his work. Delacroix was overwhelmed by the impossibility of competing against an artistic precedent of such magnitude. Daumier, on the other hand, having turned his back on the “great” painting of the past without seeking to compete with it, was faced with the problem of how to arrive at a new kind of contemporary creativity in the absence of traditional defining standards.

There is no question that *The Artist in His Studio* exposes an inner contradiction inherent to the creative process, and one that the painter had to resolve for himself. It presents us with an artist poised at the moment of pregnant indecision that Kierkegaard had described so accurately in 1843 in his *Either/Or*. The conflict and the deliberations Daumier invokes here are different from other kinds of artistic dilemmas he chose to illustrate in lithographs like his *Vue prise dans un atelier . . .* (fig. 56). In this he gently satirizes artists who sink into helpless lethargy the minute they encounter rejection by a jury. The type of seating depicted in that print alone speaks volumes—a point to which we will return in our discussion of *The Connoisseur*. In any case, the dominant mood in the drawing discussed above is one of reflection and creative melancholy.²¹ The ideal of *indépendance* is unmasked as problematic; freedom means doing what one chooses but also imposes the condition of isolation.²²

As mentioned above, Daumier frequently thought of himself as Don Quixote. In part this had to do with the search for independence, but in part he was mocking himself and his own isolation. Courbet too was afraid that he would end up like Don Quixote, that is to say solitary and isolated.²³ It is well known that Daumier failed to gain recognition as a painter and that he suffered greatly from that failure throughout his entire life. At the same time he was determined—again like Courbet—to espouse no particular established artistic school, but to follow the example of Cervantes’s hero and stick to his own autonomous course without wavering. In a number of paintings (see fig. 57) he portrays Don Quixote, legs crossed, left completely to his own devices in a gloomy chamber. The similarity to *The Artist in His Studio* is unmistakable, though the figure of Don Quixote only serves as a negative foil for Daumier’s representation of his own creativity. The artist in the present drawing is certainly no Don Quixote; he appears to be quite strong, even athletic, while Don Quixote is described with only a feeble outline and appears virtually without substance, without self-esteem.

Daumier was not expressly presenting a portrait of himself in *The Artist in His Studio*, but he certainly had himself in mind as well as his newly developed concept of what art ought to be. But he was also concerned about the possibility of exchanging these ideas with other interested parties, and this is why collectors, the ultimate consumers of art, play such a major

also Johannes Hartau, *Don Quijote in der Kunst: Wandlungen einer Symbolfigur* (Berlin, 1987).

20. Victor Hugo, *Les travailleurs de la mer*: “La mélancolie, c’est le bonheur d’être triste.” The Renaissance was already familiar with the fact that a “double sensation of unhappiness and creativity . . . could heighten one’s enjoyment of oneself.” One recalls Michelangelo’s “la mia allegrezza” è la malinconia.” For this, and for the subject of the melancholy artist in general, see Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl, *Saturn und Melancholie*, foreword to 1990 German edition, pp. 12f.
21. The same ambiguity between creativity and paralysis (a familiar subject of depictions of Melancholy) can be seen in Delacroix. See Spector, “An Interpretation,” p. 114, and K. Herding, “Kunst aus hochgemuter Düsternis—über Delacroix’ Paradoxien,” *Städels-Jahrbuch* 12 (1989), pp. 259–78. On the topic of Daumier’s constant use of himself as subject (something he shared with Delacroix, Courbet, and Hugo), see the stimulating study by U. Oevermann, “Eugène Delacroix—biographische Konstellation und künstlerisches Handeln,” *Georg-Büchner-Jahrbuch* 1985–86 (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), pp. 12–58.
22. For more about the psychological conflicts Delacroix expressed in this picture, see Spector, “An Interpretation,” p. 124.
23. Letter to Bruyas on March 1, 1873, see Courthion, *Courbet raconté*, vol. 2, p. 152.



Fig. 56. *Vue prise dans un atelier...* Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, May 4, 1855 (D. 2666). 250 × 195 mm (9⁷/₈ × 7³/₄ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Edwin De T. Bechtel, 1952

role in his drawings. It is as though the artist finds escape in this domain, for here he can seek out his own kind, like-minded cultural players in whom he can take comfort. He can invent art lovers who at some future date will prize his work as much as they now do the art of the old masters, knowledgeable friends who can relieve his loneliness and whom he can trust. The emergent modern artist was wholly dependent on such contacts with art lovers as he no longer served an official public function, whereas the connoisseurs of Diderot's day had served as intermediaries between the artist and the broader public.

But like the creative process itself, the task of establishing and furthering rewarding contact was not without its setbacks. Let us now take a look at the drawing *The Connoisseur*, which was mentioned at the beginning of this discussion as a counterpart to *The Artist in His Studio*. The work survives in both a preliminary sketch as well as a finished version. At first glance one notes a number of correspondences between the two compositions. Each of them centers on a solitary figure seated with his legs crossed in the privacy of his room in a state of deep contemplation, oblivious to all but the work in hand—in the first image these are the canvases to be painted; in the second image it is the contemplation of a prized possession.



Fig. 57. *Don Quixote Reading* (M. I-193). Oil on canvas, 78.5 × 63.5 cm (31 × 25 in.). Cardiff, National Museum of Wales

The collector has settled into a sumptuous easy chair that only a very wealthy man could own. A portfolio of prints leans against it at just the spot where in the drawing of the artist we are able to see through the chair's legs. The chair's red velvet upholstery echoes the warm tones of some of the paintings hanging in the background, adding to the aura of warmth and comfort in this interior. On a table across from the connoisseur stand a replica of the Aphrodite from Melos (usually called the *Venus de Milo*) and a small sculptural group. Behind him, against a wall filled with paintings and drawings, stands a male bust. The collector is nestled in among his treasures, finding himself so much in harmony with his possessions that he almost feels he has become one of them. In another sense, however, he is more remote from them than it might seem. One might just as well not mythologize, for this man is by no means a Pygmalion. There can be no possibility of these works of art taking on a life of their own for him, not even as the enlightened salon conversation in which Diderot would have had us believe; for this collector these are merely objects. He is filled with the smug pride of ownership (not to speak of the gender aspect—his leering at the Venus statuette being obviously an expression of this). Moreover, the two sculptures, Venus and the male bust, make eye contact and look over

the collector's shoulder as though they were living beings, and the spotlighted statuette of Venus twists toward him in a bold and lustful fashion, but the goddess's diminutive size alone precludes the possibility that Daumier is here falling in with the Romantic notion that for artists, art can take the place of the physical love of women—a form of delusion that developed into an uncontrollable obsession in Flaubert, when he addressed Art as a living, breathing female.²⁴ Daumier has thus reduced an age-old myth to a mere reference, and his bitterness and sense of sacrifice in having been forced to do so are unmistakable.²⁵ He gets even by giving this interior several attributes of a *vanitas* scene, one that accords with the collector's aging features (one writer goes so far as to characterize this face as a "skull-like head"²⁶). Daumier thereby mocks both the old man's idle statue-love and his upper-class, patriarchal way of amusing himself as being altogether inappropriate to the times. Meanwhile, quite another kind of "statue-love" is taking place behind his back as the bust of a young man and the Venus statuette exchange glances. Daumier here stages a double retort: the Pygmalion myth has given way to the appropriating and appraising eye of the collector of objects, while the collector himself is no longer capable of sustaining the old myth. In truth, Heinrich Heine had already defused the myth in his afterword to *Romanzero* in 1851. Daumier's collector is incapable of keeping the fantasy alive in front of his tiny statuette. Heine felt that even the full-sized Louvre Venus had lost the power to fulfill mythologic desires: "I nearly succumbed when I entered the great hall in which the fabled goddess of beauty, our beloved lady of Milo, stands on her pedestal for all to see. For a long time I lay at her feet, crying so miserably as to move a stone to pity. The goddess looked down at me full of sympathy, but yet with such despondency as if she wished to tell me: 'Can't you see that I have no arms, and that there is no way I can help you?'"²⁷

Through all of these references, one is forced to recognize that this collector is not a member of Daumier's own circle, but of the much more elevated world of the *haute bourgeoisie* that one reads about in the brothers Goncourt. His elegant surroundings are hardly conducive to the thoroughgoing kind of self-examination that Daumier calls for in *The Artist in His Studio*.

In other drawings, however, Daumier describes the ideal of the art lover he so yearned for without such severe qualification. The late drawing *A Painter's Studio* (cat. no. 75) shows an artist and a pair of connoisseurs together in a studio. Without mockery, Daumier depicts one connoisseur bent forward in utter concentration on the work before him while the other, equally absorbed, bends back. The two comprise a compact ensemble, set off by the resonant, shadowy space on the left. Although the artist is holding his palette and brush and is obviously busily at work, he cannot refrain

24. See Shroder, *Icarus*, esp. pp. 166–72. For a general history of the subject, see Berthold Hinz, "Knidia, oder: Des Aktes erster Akt," *Kritische Berichte* 17, no. 3 (1989), pp. 49–77. Also the entry for "Statuenliebe" in Elisabeth Frenzel, *Stoffe der Weltliteratur* (Stuttgart, 1983), pp. 713ff.
25. To be sure, his treatment of it is gentle and restrained. Daumier's own susceptibility to such an attraction is seen in his Copenhagen sketch on the same theme.
26. Bruce Laughton, *The Drawings of Daumier and Millet* (New Haven, 1991), p. 180.
27. In *Sämtliche Schriften in zwölf Bänden*, ed. K. Briegleb (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), vol. 11, p. 184.
28. I am indebted to Irit Rogoff for revising the American version of the present paper.

from looking to see which drawing the two visitors have just taken out of a portfolio. The crippling isolation suggested in *The Artist in His Studio* has now been dispelled, and there is no hint that these visitors are driven by sheer acquisitiveness as was *The Connoisseur*. This drawing, in which the artist continues to work while eavesdropping on the lively discussion of the visiting connoisseurs, presents Daumier's ideal. Here is both the stimulating companionship so absent from the first drawing and a more genuine appreciation than that portrayed in the second. The drawing suggests an acceptable mode of life for an artist—it shows that kind of stimulating collaboration between the artist and his admirers which, in Daumier's eyes, could be realized in a private environment. But, in this retreat from the domain of the public, Daumier proves himself to be anything but a reactionary who has withdrawn into an individuated inwardness. Instead, his studio is both refuge and *pièce de résistance*; he continues to hope for reconciliation between the contradictory poles which constitute the life of the artist.²⁸

The Expressive Face, the Impressive Figure

COLTA IVES

At the center of Daumier's art is the individual human being and several basic truths about how people feel and act. That we comprehend so thoroughly the emotions and behavior of the men and women depicted in Daumier's lithographs, drawings, and paintings is a sure measure of their authenticity and universality. Perhaps it is that ability to connect the viewer emotionally with a powerful physical presence in his art that prompted Balzac to declare that Daumier had "something of Michelangelo under his skin."¹ Van Gogh sensed the same energy, which he perceived as "something so strong and manly in Daumier's conception."²

Underneath their top hats and bonnets, their waistcoats and crinolines, the faces, physiques, and postures that appear in Daumier's pictures could be those of any time or any place. They unite present and past, modern life and art's history, the specific and the general. Molded by the artist's close observation of the people he saw all about him, hurrying along Paris streets, crowded into trains, or bathing along the shores of the Seine, the figures Daumier pictured were shaped also by his study of paintings and sculpture in the Louvre, and his attendance at performances of drama and mime. Daumier banked visual currency, as if heeding Goya's advice that a good artist's eye should be quick enough to register the action of a man falling off a roof, and his memory keen enough to draw it much later.³

Daumier is said to have drawn the models at Boudin's studio "assiduously," even "passionately," as a youth;⁴ but, in later life, he would chide his friend Geoffroy-Dechaume for offering him a sketch pad and a pencil: "You know very well that I cannot draw after nature."⁵ Once he had mastered the ability to work without models, his hand was set free.

The description of Daumier given by his contemporaries calls to mind some of the myriad faces drawn by the artist himself: "the small piercing eyes, the nose turned up

as though by a gust of idealism, the fine, generous, wide-open mouth."⁶ Jules Clarétie remembered Daumier as "broad and solid with a powerful head on a sturdy neck. Eyes which could be dreamy, could be mischievous . . . a face which held both malice and a humorous good nature."⁷ But it was only at the outset of his career that Daumier was much concerned with the portrayal of specific individuals, and these, usually government officials, he set out to ridicule in distorted likenesses that drew attention to their most unattractive features (fig. 58). Like the pinched and kneaded clay heads which Daumier shaped as their models and which were later cast in bronze (see figs. 31–34), these rumpled faces barely cling to reality.

The legions of character heads that Daumier delineated over the years are more often highly generalized, but nonetheless salient depictions of facial expressions: sym-

bolic messages of our fellow beings' emotions. These striking masks which come in many guises from the likes of classic Roman busts (cat. no. 3) to jolly Toby jugs (cat. no. 10) suggest by their very diversity the remarkable breadth of Daumier's study. That study may be said to have formally begun with the plaster casts and engraved portraits collected by his drawing master, Alexandre Lenoir,⁸ enriched by a certain familiarity with Charles LeBrun's guide for painters, *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière des passions* (1698), enlivened by leafing through British popular prints, and then sharpened by several seasons at the Théâtre des Funambules.⁹

Having made his profession in the world of caricature, Daumier worked almost consistently (and perhaps even instinctively) in modes of abstraction and exaggeration. Even when he was not on assignment for *Le Charivari*, he made it his business to capture



Fig. 58. *Le Ventre législatif*. Lithograph, published by the *Association Mensuelle*, January 1834 (D. 131). 431 × 280 mm (17 × 11 1/8 in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920

the dramatic peak of an emotion or action and to portray that moment succinctly. Since he seems to have felt an uncanny empathy for the emotional states of others, as well as a sharp awareness, kinesthetically speaking, he was able to describe any body movement with conviction: from the lift of muscles in the face as a mouth stretches into a grin, to the downward press on the ball of the foot as a body shifts its weight forward. His effective approach to attracting popular attention was spurred not just by such odd distortions as those published by Rowlandson, Gillray, and Boilly, but also by the arresting achievements of Goya, Géricault, Delacroix, and other painters of the Romantic movement who focused on the active display of passions, which they had pulled from the far corners of genre and history painting to feature in the foreground, front and center. Daumier's fondness for the swirl and dash of Rubens's robust men and women and the jaunty thrusts of Callot's comedians also informed the broad range of his characterizations.

But as his production of drawings, watercolors, and paintings impressively demonstrates, Daumier worked at more than one end of the seismic scale. Indeed, there is as much diversity in the level of activity on the part of his figures as there is in the range of their emotions and in their appearances and ages. The artist seems to have taken particular pleasure, for instance, in bringing together young and old in order to compare the countenances, physiques, carriage, and gestures of one age with another, both for visual impact and emotional resonance. The success of Daumier's most affecting images often depends upon generational contrasts which are central to *Rue Transnonain* (fig. 59), *Third-Class Carriage* (cat. no. 48), and *A Woman and a Child Crossing a Bridge* (cat. no. 38).

The intense concentration of emotion and meaning in Daumier's late works is particularly poignant, and it sometimes seems that



Fig. 59. *Rue Transnonain, le 15 Avril 1834*. Lithograph, published by the *Association Mensuelle*, July 1834 (D. 135). 445 × 290 mm (17½ × 11½ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920

the enormity of the artist's motive is more than a single figure can realistically contain. It is during the late 1860s and early 1870s that Daumier's caricatures emptied of all but allegorical figures standing for concepts like nationality, liberty, and peace. In his drawings, physical substance, formerly represented as plastic, even weighty, now appears to evanesce, dissolving into particles that hover and pulsate around a subject like shock waves. Contours are merely alluded to, and the viewer himself must provide definition (see cat. nos. 11, 21, 22, and 117). To some degree a result of his weakening eyesight and of a certain timeworn impatience, the vagueness of Daumier's description is all the more compelling for its imprecision, conveying a sense of human dynamics in a way that had never been seen before.

1. P. Courthion, ed., *Daumier raconté par lui-même et par ses amis* (Geneva, 1945), p. 16.
2. *The Complete Letters of Vincent Van Gogh*, 2d ed. (Greenwich, Conn., 1959), vol. 1, p. 468, no. 237 (The Hague, October 1882); quoted in B. Laughton, *The Drawings of Daumier and Millet* (New Haven, 1991), p. 200.
3. A. de Beruete y Moret, *Goya Grabador* (Madrid, 1918); quoted in Tomás Harris, *Goya Engravings and Lithographs* (Oxford, 1964), vol. 1, p. vii.
4. The precise identity of the studio master named by Duranty is not known; he would have been a generation older than the painter Eugène Boudin (1824–1898). Edmond Duranty, "Etude sur Daumier," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 2, 17 (June 1878), p. 542.
5. R. Escholier, *Daumier* (Paris, 1934), p. 109.
6. T. de Banville, *Mes souvenirs* (Paris, 1882); quoted in Courthion, *Daumier raconté*, p. 147.
7. Quoted in Oliver W. Larkin, *Daumier: Man of His Time* (New York, 1966), p. 207.
8. J. Adhémar, *Honoré Daumier* (Paris, 1954), p. 11.
9. The possible visual sources for the expressions, gestures, and bearings of Daumier's figures are effectively surveyed by Judith Wechsler in *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris* (Chicago, 1982); see esp. pp. 15–16, 54, and 70.

Portrait of a Young Woman,
ca. 1833

(Portrait d'une jeune fille)

Black chalk, stump, and conté crayon

Wove paper: 286 × 220 mm (11¼ × 8⅞ in.)

Signed and dedicated in conté crayon, lower right:

h. Daumier / A Jeannette

Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (24.125)

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Daumier eventually gave rein to his own free, and relatively abstract style, but as a young man in his early twenties he proved he could render human likeness with naturalistic precision. Like many French draughtsmen of the 1830s, including the lithographers Traviès, Devéria, and Gavarni, he practiced portraiture with a light but carefully controlled hand, using chalk and crayon to come close to the velvety chiaroscuro of Prud'hon's drawings and to the linear delicacy of Ingres's.

The only known portrait drawing by Daumier of such seriousness or size, this signed work (perhaps dedicated to its earnest, young sitter, who unfortunately remains unknown)

is painstakingly descriptive, like the lithographs of gray-suited politicians the artist created for *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari* between May and December of 1833. Only the year before, waiting out his six-month sentence for slanderous caricaturing, Daumier complained of the incessant demands made on his talents, writing to P. A. Jeanron from Sainte-Pélagie prison (October 8, 1832): "I am overwhelmed by a crowd of citizens who want me to draw their portrait."¹

1. From a letter first published by Arsène Alexandre, *Honoré Daumier: L'homme et l'oeuvre* (Paris, 1888), pp. 54–55; quoted in translation by Howard P. Vincent, *Daumier and His World* (Evanston, 1968), p. 33.



Studies of the Heads of Two Men

(Deux Têtes d'hommes)

Black chalk

Laid paper: 167 × 150 mm (6⁵/₁₆ × 5⁷/₈ in.)

Initialed in black ink, lower left: *h D*

Verso: *Two Standing Figures*

Charcoal

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

(F-II-172)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 120 and 179 (verso); A.F.W.M. Meij and Jurriaan A. Poot, *Nineteenth-Century French Drawings from the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, exh. cat., International Exhibitions Foundation (Washington, D.C., 1986), no. 28

The face in the foreground is likely that of a pressman, wearing the traditional paper cap of the printer's shop. His attire and grimly determined expression place him close to the figure who stands for the freedom of the press in Daumier's lithograph of 1834 (fig. 60), to which this drawing may be related.

The lithograph is drawn with greater finesse and the modeling there is more polished, but in both drawing and print the dominant forms seem to have been loosely contoured and then carved with shadow.



Fig. 60. *Ne vous y frottez pas!!*
Lithograph, published by the
Association Mensuelle, March
1834 (D. 133). 431 × 307 mm
(17 × 12¹/₈ in.). New York, The
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Bequest of Edwin De T. Bechtel,
1957



The Busts of Three Figures and a Male Head

(Etude de trois spectateurs)

Black chalk and wash

Laid paper: 168 × 197 mm (6⁵/₈ × 7³/₄ in.)

Initialed in black chalk, lower left: *h.D.*

Verso: *Three Figures Looking at a Handful of Pictures*
Graphite

New York, M. and J. David Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 153 (verso undescribed);
Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, *The Benjamin
Sonnenberg Collection*, sale cat., June 5–9, 1979,
lot 1405

Three Parisians who might be lined up as spectators or fellow passengers on a train bear the same dignified mien that Romans do in antique portrait busts, while each casts a gaze in a slightly different direction. Their chiseled features are cast in relief by deep shadows on the far side of their profiles, just as the proud head of *La République* is in Daumier's first important painting done in 1848 (fig. 66). There are few drawings in which the artist works chalk so broadly as this; later, wash is favored for tonal modeling.



3

4

Woman and Child

(Mère et enfant)

Black chalk

Laid paper: 308 × 235 mm (12¹/₈ × 9¹/₄ in.)

Watermark: NVIS VIS (only lower portions of letters visible)

Unsigned

Inscribed in pencil on verso, upper left:
from M. Daumier 1867

New York, Private Collection

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 112

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 214

Youth and age are paired in this impressive double portrait, which focuses on the sculptured terrain of the subjects' faces, leaving the rest of their forms to cloudy suggestion. The furrowed, careworn complexion of the

woman is made to contrast poignantly with the smooth brow and plump cheeks of the baby. Both visages compel with truths about the human condition and the passage of time.

Similarities in their angular features, the distinguished nose and heavy-lidded eyes, recall the figure of the rugged old woman who sits with a basket in her lap in Daumier's painting *Third-Class Carriage* (fig. 95). It is possible to imagine this woman at another moment during her train trip dandling the baby who travels beside her in the painting (her grandchild?) on her knees.

The previously undescribed inscription on the verso of this sheet is probably from the hand of the American painter William P. Babcock (1826–1899), who acquired the drawing from Daumier while living in France.





5

Head of a Man

(Tête d'homme)

Red and black chalk, pen and black ink

Laid paper: 258 × 238 mm (10 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Initialed in red chalk, lower right: *hD*.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques (RF 36.798)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1934, no. 155; Philadelphia 1937, no. 51; Marseille 1979, no. 84

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 8; *Donations Claude Roger-Marx*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1980), no. 18; Provost, p. 213

The grandest and most imposingly monumental of Daumier's male studies, this Herculean bust is a rare example of the artist's use of red chalk. So sculptural as to suggest a work in marble from the antique, this work might have been conceived as an exhibition piece, so commanding is its equipoise between finish and unfinish, concentrated study and spontaneity.

Heavysset, jowly, with thick neck and massive, rounded shoulders, this male figure type emerges now and then in Daumier's views of the law courts, on a bus or a train, in the soup kitchen, or best, as the muscle man in a sideshow. Its female counterpart appears, in tribute to Rubens, among the well-nourished maidens in Daumier's paintings of 1849 and 1850 (M. I-24 and M. I-32).



6

A Study of Five Men Gathered around a Table

(Etude de têtes)

Charcoal, black chalk, and conté crayon

Laid paper: 165 × 216 mm (6 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Unsigned

Los Angeles, The Armand Hammer Daumier and Contemporaries Collection, The Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center (4587)

EXHIBITION: Paris 1901, no. 165

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 164; *Honoré Daumier, 1808–1879: The Armand Hammer Daumier Collection*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 1982), no. 191

This party of men socializing around a table might be a study for a watercolor depicting an occasion of male camaraderie (see cat. nos. 59 and 61). During the 1860s Daumier treated such subjects with a certain intensity of feeling. Although the faces drawn here are in varied states of completion (in two, the chalk modeling is particularly detailed and fine), it is evident that Daumier intended to display a certain range of expressions, while honing all profiles to an inquisitive type.

Two Men Conversing

(Têtes de deux hommes)

Pen and ink

Laid paper: 152 × 202 mm (6 × 7¹⁵/₁₆ in.)

Unsigned

New York, Kenneth G. Futter

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 135

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 138

Two Smiling Men, ca. 1865

(Têtes de deux hommes riant)

Black chalk, gray wash, and conté crayon

Laid paper: 250 × 218 mm (9⁷/₈ × 8⁹/₁₆ in.)

Unsigned

Private Collection

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 136

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 132

The interaction between individuals was perpetually fascinating to Daumier. A situation did not need to be dramatic, and might entail only a brief exchange between cronies, the casual intimacy of their remarks underscored by the closeness of the speakers and the union of their gazes.

In these drawings of pairs of men, Daumier repeated a double pose (perhaps his own practical invention) that brings two heads together with the same binding impulses that good conversation does; one head is shown in profile and the other in a three-quarter view. Jovial encounters like these are often seen in the vicinity of wine in both Daumier's watercolors and prints (see cat. no. 63 and fig. 102).

Stylistically and technically, these two drawings display different facets of Daumier's draughtsmanship, the slightly earlier sheet a tangle of busy, finely penned lines, the other a loose amalgam of chalk, crayon, and wash.





Studies of Heads and Torsos

(Feuille d'études avec quatre têtes)

Charcoal, pen and ink, wash, watercolor,
and conté crayon

Laid paper: 260 × 405 mm (10¼ × 16 in.)

Unsigned

Verso: *Studies of Figures, Including Two Groups
of Men*

Charcoal, stump, wash, and conté crayon
Private Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 777a and 777 (verso);
Provost, p. 218

Around 1860 Daumier began to model the figures he drew with graduated tonalities of watercolor and wash. He experimented with this technique in a few studies made on this drawing sheet, which must typify the way he often worked, moving quickly from one face or figure to another.

In the upper right-hand corner, there is the cameo bust of a woman, modeled entirely with a brush; in the lower right is a more detailed study where the contours of a man's frowning face and his tense shoulders and neck are emphasized in pen and ink. The diversity in the studies on this page demonstrates Daumier's propensity to oper-

ate in many different drawing styles at the same time, the usefulness of each technique determined by its particular descriptive function.

The purposes for which each figure on this sheet were intended remain relatively uncertain. The seated figure in the lower left corner of the recto side, drawn in wiggly lines, might be a comic performer. The men on the verso (fig. 61) may be train passengers and connoisseurs (see cat. no. 71); one small figure in the upper right corner is clearly a saltimbanque, accompanied by a drum, related to *Street Show* (cat. no. 116).



Fig. 61. *Studies of Figures, Including Two Groups of Men* (verso of cat. no. 9). Charcoal, stump, wash, and conté crayon, 260 × 405 mm (10¼ × 16 in.). Private Collection



The Bust of a Man

(Tête d'étude)

Pen and ink

Laid paper: 191 × 140 mm (7½ × 5½ in.)

Unsigned

Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (1935–2687)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 83



While the aging Daumier witnessed the crushing defeat of France, his health deteriorated and his eyesight failed. Out of necessities, public and private, his art turned to sober subjects that were deeply felt. Daumier's skills as a draughtsman continued to be formidable, nonetheless, for his tactile senses remained strong and his pen, always plied as if it were a sculptor's tool, scraped along furiously, prodding lines into forming beings.

Like the unflinchingly realistic faces of Hellenistic art, and the late portraits of Rembrandt, which exalt time's consequences in a withered carapace or the dark sockets of dimmed eyes, Daumier's, too, bear the awful gravity of old age with affecting dignity. "His mission was to study the exterior man, to probe his internal life, and out of the crucible of his observations to cast his many medals . . .," Champfleury said, delivering the benediction at Daumier's funeral, "He goes from blindness into light. . . ."¹

1. According to Philippe Burty, *République française*, February 15, 1879; quoted in Pierre Courthion, ed., *Daumier raconté par lui-même et par ses amis* (Geneva, 1945), p. 125.

A Smiling Man

(Le Rieur)

Pen and ink with wash

Laid paper: 120 × 94 mm (4¾ × 3⅞ in.)

Initialed in conté crayon, lower right: *h.D.*

Cambridge, Lent by the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum (3876)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 154; London 1961, no. 131; Marseille 1979, no. 83

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 81; *European Drawings from the Fitzwilliam*, exh. cat., International Exhibitions Foundation (Washington, D.C., 1976), no. 100; Provost, p. 213

This Rabelaisian fellow belongs in the company of the drinkers and bawlers in Daumier's watercolors of the mid to late 1860s; his pose mimics that of a reveler whose raised hand catches the tavern's harsh light in *The Drinkers* (cat. no. 62).

Evidently cut from a larger sheet and trimmed to a size close to a carte de visite, this small character portrait exerts enormous appeal. The contagion of good humor is served here by a blend of ink lines and wash that achieves just the right contrast and balance, the pen work gibbering while the brush pulls in shadows.



A Longshoreman

(Le Porteur de fardeau)

Charcoal

Laid paper: 306 × 422 mm (12 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 16 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Watermark: CC BIMAUX (?)

Unsigned

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art,
Rosenwald Collection (1943.3.9320)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison* 257

A body that is bent and strained is often at the center of Daumier's art, for the sight of a human under duress rarely fails to elicit a sympathetic response. The laundresses, stonemasons, boat towers (see D. 1028), butchers, and overspent shoppers in Daumier's paintings, drawings, and prints all bear the burdens of their tasks, each according to his function. The heaviest loads that must be borne in Daumier's political cartoons are identified as the "budget" or "taxes," beginning in 1831 with the censored lithograph that showed workmen conveying basketsful

of money up a ramp to their greedy King "Gargantua" (D. 34).

More acutely solitary than the characters in his lithographs, the shadowy, anonymous laborers in Daumier's paintings and drawings are all the more moving and eloquent (fig. 62). Many drawn from sights that could be viewed any day along the Seine's shoreline and its quays are intensely vivid, even potently surreal, recalling the interminable efforts of Sisyphus, to whom Daumier himself alluded in a later caricature (D. 3694).



Fig. 62. *Towing the Boat*, 1848–52 (M. 1–28). Oil on panel, 19 × 28 cm (7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Germany, Private Collection



A Man Carrying a Bucket

(Le Porteur d'eau)

Charcoal

Blue laid paper: 279 × 200 mm (11 × 7⁷/₈ in.)

Unsigned

Verso: *A Woman Supporting a Toddling Child*
(fig. 63)

Charcoal and stump

London, British Museum (1925-11-14-2)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 485; London 1961,
no. 116; Marseille 1979, no. 55

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 256 and 227 (verso);
Laughton 1991, pp. 101–3

The kind of academic study one would expect to find in the portfolio of a young artist, Daumier's figure drawing depicts an isolated moment when the body's muscles sustain balance during a shift in weight. Although associated by Maison with the painting of a water carrier (M. I-II.49) that has been dated as late as 1860, this studious charcoal displays the firm contours of Daumier's work of the 1840s.

Like many subjects in Daumier's paintings and drawings, this figure is shown with the head dropped forward, or turned away so that facial expression may not compete with the telling postures of torso and limbs.



Bathers

(Baigneurs)

Oil on panel

33 × 24.7 cm (13 × 9¾ in.)

Initialed at lower left: *h.D.*

New York, José Mugrabi Collections

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 91; Paris 1901, no. 26;
Paris 1934, no. 14aBIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison I*–16; Georget and Mandel
1972, no. 19; Christie's, New York, sale cat.,
November 6, 1991, lot 254

Between 1839 and 1842 Daumier published a series of lithographs in which he investigated the various shapes and possible postures of the public bather. A small group of paintings furthering this theme ensued, among them this panel, which abandons the hilarity of the bather caricatures while retaining their candor.

Here, in contrast to the graceful contraposto of *A Man Carrying a Bucket* (cat. no. 13), is the realistic awkwardness of the bather drying himself, knees bent for balance (and possibly shivering), a useless arm lifted out of the towel's way. All the faces in this painting are averted so that the viewer's attention can be concentrated on the efforts of the bathers' bodies.



Bathing in the Seine

(Le Premier Bain)

Oil on canvas

25 × 19 cm (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)Signed lower right: *h. Daumier*

Private Collection

EXHIBITION: Paris 1901, no. 73

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison I–54; Georgel and Mandel 1972, no. 65



One of the five closely related paintings known to Maison which have as their subject a bathing child, this is the only oil done in a vertical format, and thus is perhaps the earliest. Daumier's study of the special physique of the infant nude, probably informed as much by art as it was by direct experience, succeeds in bringing the baroque putto to working-class Paris.

The fact that Daumier observed with unwavering attention the bobbing movements of one such toddler is evidenced by the charcoal drawing (fig. 63) on the verso of *A Man Carrying a Bucket* (cat. no. 13), a sheet that, when taken altogether, presents a cinematic family portrait including man, woman, and child, each bent to his or her own task.

Fig. 63. *A Woman Supporting a Toddling Child* (verso of cat. no. 13). Charcoal and stump, 279 × 200 mm (11 × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.). London, British Museum



A Running Boy

(Le Jeune Coureur)

Conté crayon and wash

Laid paper: 155 × 232 mm (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Initialed in ink, lower left: *h D.*

Verso: *A Reclining Figure*

Gray wash

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art,
Rosenwald Collection (1943.3.9073)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 158; Philadelphia 1937,
no. 49; London 1961, no. 114

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 247 (verso undescribed);
Laughton 1991, pp. 44–45



Fig. 64. Eugène Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People* (detail), 1830. Oil on canvas, 260 × 325 cm (8 ft. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. × 10 ft. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre

The display of human activity at the very peak of an action, as if motion had been arrested in midair, became one of Daumier's special feats. Guided by examples in the art of the past, from Raphael to Fragonard and his contemporary Delacroix (fig. 64), he often energized his compositions with momentum that threatened to burst right out of the picture.

Figures tend to move in a dynamic, forward motion in many of Daumier's works beginning in the late 1840s and early 1850s, notably in his painting *The Miller, His Son, and the Ass* (fig. 78). Such exaggerated physical action along with exaggerated facial expressions were indeed the basic ingredient of Daumier's caricatures, where one might expect to find a fugitive, wide-eyed boy. This ragamuffin Hermes perched on his shadow throws his limbs out childishly (fingers splayed and pants legs fluttering)—more for pictorial effect, it seems, than for balance.



16



17

Venus de Milo

Conté crayon

Wove paper: 245 × 180 mm (9⁵/₈ × 7¹/₈ in.)

Unsigned

Charlottenlund, Ordstrupsgaardsamlingen

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 806

18

Vulcan, 1853

(Vulcain)

Pen and brown ink, wash, watercolor, black and red chalk, and conté crayon

Beige wove paper: 273 × 190 mm (10³/₄ × 7¹/₂ in.)

Signed in brown ink: *vulcain* (lower left);

h.D (lower right)

Los Angeles, The Armand Hammer Daumier and Contemporaries Collection, The Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center (4584)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 469; *Honoré Daumier, 1808–1879: The Armand Hammer Daumier Collection*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 1982), no. 196

Daumier was of two minds when it came to classical art, for although he often ridiculed the pompous gods of ancient Greece and Rome to whom many artists had become



Fig. 65. *La République de Milo* . . . Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, August 16–17, 1871 (D. 3873). 256 × 202 mm (10¹/₈ × 8 in.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

slavishly devoted (see cat. no. 18), his own admiration for antique sculpture is evidenced in such works as the lithograph *On a beau dire, l'antique est toujours beau...* (1850) and in his later watercolor *The Connoisseur* (cat. no. 77), in which an art lover gazes appreciatively at a reproduction of the Venus de Milo (see also fig. 13).

This apparent study for the statuette in Daumier's watercolor might well have been drawn by the artist at the Louvre, where the monumental Greek marble was placed on view in 1821, although the schematic treatment of the anatomy suggests an intermediary cast in plaster. (The torsion of the original statue was later minimized by a readjustment of the upper and lower parts of the sculpture in 1871.) In some details of drapery and anatomy this linear study is closer to the statue than is the much-reduced, but nonetheless convincingly modeled tabletop copy in the watercolor, which differs also in its illumination from the right rather than the left.

Daumier's charcoal study for the overall composition of *The Connoisseur* (fig. 110) shows only vague outlines of the statuette, but interestingly bears a dedication to the actor Alfred Baron. A friend of Daumier, Baron (who was later known as Cléophas) often performed at the Théâtre Porte Saint-Martin, where his brother-in-law Marc Fournier was director. It was there, on September 29, 1853, that a *féerie* was performed for which Daumier designed costumes, outfitting at least thirteen Greek gods (see cat. no. 18) whom he envisioned as awkward and misshapen creatures contrasting sharply with the graceful Venus.

From 1867 on, a majestic, draped female figure appeared ever more frequently in Daumier's caricatures as the allegorical representation of France, Europe, Liberty, and Peace. And even the most famous marble goddess could not remain forever off limits to Daumier's wit; after the war of 1871 it was recast in the role of the disarmed and sadly disabled French nation: *La République de Milo* (fig. 65), whose charms the artist deliberately diminished.



The Figure of an Actor
(*Henri Monnier?*)

Black chalk, pen and ink, and gray wash

Laid paper: 420 × 303 mm (16½ × 11⅝ in.)

Unsigned

Verso: *A Barker* (fig. 82)

Black chalk

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen
(F-II-61)

EXHIBITION: Paris 1901, no. 167

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 448 and 509 (verso);
A.F.W.M. Meij and Jurriaan A. Poot, *Nineteenth-
Century French Drawings from the Museum
Boymans-van Beuningen*, exh. cat., International
Exhibitions Foundation (Washington, D.C., 1986),
no. 31; Provost, p. 216

The commanding figure in this drawing has been identified since 1901 as the caricaturist, writer, and actor Henri Monnier (1799–1877), whom Daumier pictured in his stage role as Monsieur Prudhomme in a lithograph published in 1852 (D. 2347). But there is little to support such an identification, and this imposing figure could just as easily be seen in another context, perhaps relating to La Fontaine's fable *The Doctors*, which is alluded to in a sketch on a corner of this sheet, where a pair of doctors flanks the symbol of Death. Daumier's finished watercolor of this subject (fig. 82), like its charcoal study (cat. no. 34), shows two heavily robed authorities dramatically scowling.



20

*Two Male Nudes,
One Supported by the Other*

(Etude d'un homme nu, soutenu par un autre)

Pen and ink with gray wash
Wove paper: 126 × 86 mm (5 × 3⅜ in.)
Unsigned
U.S.A., Private Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 144a; Christie's, New York,
sale cat., October 25, 1989, lot 271



20

21

A Study of Female Dancers

(Etude de danseuses)

Black chalk and conté crayon
Laid paper: 338 × 274 mm (13⅓ × 10¾ in.)
Unsigned
Paris, Musée du Louvre,
Département des Arts Graphiques (RF 5897)

EXHIBITION: Paris 1934, no. 115
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 474

Daumier made clear distinctions between the movements of men and women, often endowing his female subjects with a swinging gait that seems the natural extension of their bodies' curves. His study of three dancers (the one at center barely visible) links figure to figure in a cinematic sequence that could be tracking the steps and turns of only one woman. His persistent, repetitive lines seem to be winding up the dancer, coaxing her into continuing action. This intense dynamic stirs the central figures in Daumier's 1849 canvas *The Miller, His Son, and the Ass* (fig. 78), as well as the much later *Woman Carrying a Child* (M. I-241) that seems to be spun out of ribbons of paint.

By contrast, Daumier's ink and wash sketch of male nudes (cat. no. 20) is a static, academic exercise that diagrams opposing forces held in equilibrium. The bodies of those Poussinesque models which cross each other on a single plane are arrestingly, if conventionally, balanced. But it is Daumier's swaying dancers who convey the artist's special genius for implying a movement's prolonged duration, possible alteration, and amplification.

It is usually the relationship of one person to another (physically and psychologically) that is Daumier's central motif, a theme that is carried out in the way two figures move together, either in opposite directions or in ways that mirror one another.



*Study of an Actor with
a Tambourine*

(Acteur au tambourin)

Conté crayon and traces of graphite

Laid paper: 395 × 280 mm (15⁵/₁₆ × 11 in.)

Unsigned

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum,
Harvard University Art Museums, Bequest of
Frances L. Hofer (1979.69)

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 167

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 449; *Master Drawings and
Watercolors: The Hofer Collection*, Fogg Art Mu-
seum (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), no. 34

In actor portraits that prefigure those of Toulouse-Lautrec, Daumier captured the heightened reality of on-stage performance. Among the street musicians with violins, drums, or guitars that he drew, this tambourine player is a particularly dashing figure and probably stands somewhere in between the artist's paintings *The Troubadour* (M. I-186), which Maison dates 1864–67, and *Pierrot Playing the Mandolin* (M. I-240), put at 1873, combining the statuesque presence of the first and the lively agitation of the second.

The lower vantage point which Daumier sometimes assumed in the 1860s helped to aggrandize this heavy but surprisingly graceful figure, whose jiggled contours suggest the rhythmic sounds of his musical instrument.





Fig. 66. *La République*, 1848 (M. 1–20). Oil on canvas, 73 × 60 cm (28¾ × 23⅞ in.). Paris, Musée d'Orsay

History and Illustration

MARGRET STUFFMANN AND MARTIN SONNABEND

The examples in the following section of the catalogue represent Daumier's attempts to work within the conventions of fine art, taking his subject matter from history, religion, mythology, and literature. They range in date from roughly 1848–50 to 1870, though the majority of them were created in the years around 1848–55. They thus represent the period of the 1848 revolution, the short-lived Second Republic, and the beginning of the Second Empire.

In 1848 Daumier was already forty years old, a famous caricaturist who had fully mastered his art and could point to an extensive lithographic oeuvre. His motives in shifting over into the realm of “high” art at just this time seem to have been both personal and political. It is perfectly understandable that he should have felt a certain exhaustion after working as a caricaturist for twenty years. Moreover, the revolution had brought with it a change in the cultural-political climate. Artists previously rejected as being too modern might now hope for public commissions from the state.¹ After Daumier's successful participation in the competition for an allegorical portrait of the Republic in 1848 (fig. 66), he exhibited for the first time in the Salon of 1849. As a result, he too began to be entrusted with official commissions and was thus encouraged to apply his talents in a new artistic direction. Finally, with the seizure of power and suppression of a free press by Louis-Napoleon in 1851 and 1852, conditions were such that Daumier the caricaturist had reason to fear a repeat of his experience with censorship in the early 1830s. This alone was enough to cause him to focus his creative energies on the more private fields of painting and drawing.

Another major factor in Daumier's shift to fine art was his increasing familiarity with leading artists and writers of his time. Since about 1842 he had lived on the north bank of the Ile Saint-Louis, on the Quai d'Anjou,

an elegant residential quarter for the nobility in the seventeenth century that had now become a bohemian stronghold. Théophile Gautier, Charles Baudelaire, and Théodore Rousseau all lived nearby. And in the immediate vicinity was the Hôtel Pimodan (now the Hôtel Lauzun), an important meeting place for those Romantics who thought of themselves as the avant-garde of modernism. Eugène Delacroix was a frequent guest. Daumier knew these people well. He closely followed their work and probably joined in their theoretical discussions. In such an environment he must have been challenged to apply himself in new directions. Given these connections, it is no surprise that in Baudelaire's review of the Salon of 1845 we find him insisting that Delacroix and Daumier rightly counted with Ingres among the greatest draughtsmen of the time.

At first glance, the works collected in this section may seem impossibly disparate in style and subject matter. Without any apparent logic, Daumier experimented with a wide variety of approaches, alternately drawing, painting, and sculpting. It almost appears as though he took up each new medium simply to prove to himself that he could master it. He gave no thought to academic convention, which held that a work of art is created in a fixed sequence of steps, and that drawing is only ancillary to these.² As a lithographer, Daumier was accustomed to drawing directly on the stone, and for him drawing was as legitimate a means of artistic expression as any other, experiment and end product in one.

Among the artists of Daumier's acquaintance were the painters just then forming the Barbizon school, most notably Jean-François Millet and Théodore Rousseau. He shared with them both a new interest in the depiction of landscape and nature and a sympathy for some of the anti-classical tendencies in French intellectual tradition as manifested in the continuous interest in Molière and La



Fig. 67. *Mary Magdalen*, 1849–50 (M. I–29). Oil on canvas, 41 × 33 cm (16 1/8 × 13 in.). Switzerland, Private Collection



Fig. 68. Eugène Delacroix, *Mary Magdalen*, 1845. Oil on canvas, 32.7 × 24.7 cm (12 7/8 × 9 3/4 in.). Winterthur, Oskar Reinhart Collection



Fig. 69. Eugène Delacroix, *Attila Trampling Italy and the Arts* (detail), 1847. Fresco. Paris, Palais Bourbon, Chambre des Députés

Fontaine. Thus it was that in 1855 Daumier undertook to produce with these painters and the sculptor Antoine-Louis Barye a series of illustrations for the fables of La Fontaine—a project that was never completed.³

In his new career as draughtsman and painter, Daumier was surely influenced by like-minded artists such as these. At the same time, he now devoted himself to the great tradition in European art, which he could easily study in the collections of the Louvre and in engraved reproductions. For all their outward differences, he appears to have been most affected, however, by the

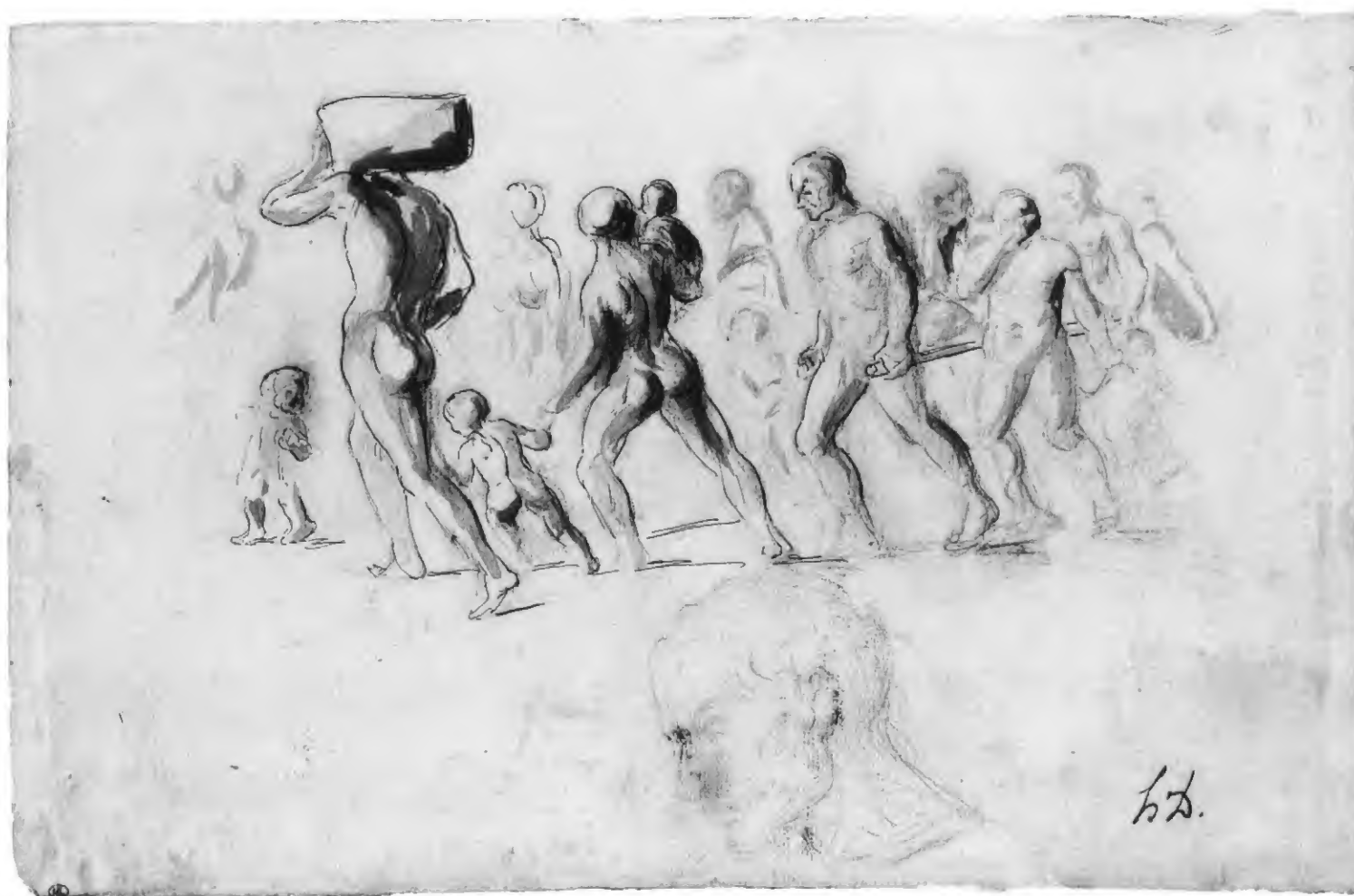
towering personality of Eugène Delacroix, ten years his senior. It is telling that in his first attempts at painting, for example, Daumier chose religious subjects—a most unusual territory for him—and moreover the very themes that had occupied Delacroix in the late 1840s, producing his own *Saint Sebastian* (see cat. no. 28) and *Mary Magdalen* (fig. 67). In his treatment of the subject of emigrants (cat. no. 23), Daumier also quotes from Delacroix's *Attila* fresco (fig. 69) in the library of the Palais Bourbon. Lastly, he borrowed from the older artist's same series of frescoes the subject matter of his *Archimedes* (cat. no. 31 and fig. 80).

In addition to these thematic influences, Daumier found inspiration in Delacroix's ability to synthesize artistic tradition and his own subjective response to contemporary events.

Daumier was also influenced by Géricault. This is especially evident in his interpretations of mythological subjects, for example his *Drunkenness of Silenus* (cat. no. 30). He especially admired the highly charged physical expression of Géricault's paintings and drawings. To Daumier's generation of artists, the young genius who died so early in his career had become something of a guiding spirit. Furthermore, a personal acquaintance of Daumier, the republican-minded historian Jules Michelet, had devoted considerable attention to Géricault in the series of lectures on recent French history he delivered in 1847–48.⁴

Daumier found in both Delacroix and Géricault an inspiring combination of classical tradition and engaged social comment. For a caricaturist, of course, social comment involved a certain ironical distance, a dimension that Daumier introduced into his interpretations of traditional subjects from the fine arts.

1. See Pierre Angrand, "L'état mécène: période autoritaire du Second Empire (1851–1860)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 71 (May–June 1968), pp. 303–48; also T. J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848–1851* (London, 1973).
2. Regarding the methods of the Academy, see Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1971).
3. This is reported by Alfred Sensier in *Souvenirs sur Théodore Rousseau* (Paris, 1872), pp. 230–32. See also Bruce Laughton, *The Drawings of Daumier and Millet* (New Haven, 1991), pp. 207–8.
4. See Francis D. Klingender, "Géricault As Seen in 1848," *Burlington Magazine* 81 (October 1942), pp. 254–56.



23

Study for the relief The Emigrants

(Etude pour le bas-relief "Les Emigrants")

Black and red chalk, gray wash, pen and ink

Laid paper: 250 × 370 mm (9⁷/₈ × 14⁹/₁₆ in.)

Signed lower right: *h D*

Paris, Musée du Louvre,

Département des Arts Graphiques (RF 36.801)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1934, no. 163; London 1961, no. 106; Marseille 1979, no. 39

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison 819; Donations Claude Roger-Marx*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1980), no. 13; Provost, p. 218; Laughton 1991, pp. 52 and 107, illus. p. 54

The Fugitives

(Les Fugitifs)

Oil on wood

16 × 31 cm (6¼ × 12¼ in.)

Signed lower right: *h. Daumier*

Private Collection (on permanent loan to
The National Gallery, London)

EXHIBITION: Paris 1878, no. 17

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison I-27; Georgel and Mandel
1972, no. 34

25

The Emigrants (second version)

(Les Emigrants, seconde version)

Bronze

36.9 × 76.5 cm (14½ × 30½ in.)

Signed lower right: *h. Daumier*

Marked by the foundry: *Siot-Decauville Paris*

Numbered 5

Private Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gobin 65; Wasserman 39b

The Louvre study (cat. no. 23) is the only Daumier drawing that is directly related to one of his sculptures, namely his relief of the procession of emigrants (cat. no. 25). The manner in which he brings his figures into the picture space and causes them to disappear again suggests that this drawing was done immediately after the relief and before he proceeded to produce a painted version of the subject (cat. no. 24). Daumier attempted to reproduce in the drawing the three-dimensionality of the relief by means of a layered technique incorporating chalk drawing, wash, and pen and ink. He was not completely successful. In the relief the figures' struggle against some opposing force seems especially expressive, but in the drawing it is less convincing and moreover the space seems undefined.

Having been inspired by Delacroix's *Attila* fresco in the Palais Bourbon (completed in 1847, see fig. 69), Daumier apparently first tried his hand at the depiction of a procession of emigrants in a relief. It was a subject



Fig. 70. *Mother and Two Children* (M. 243). Charcoal and crayon, 360 × 265 mm (14¼ × 10½ in.). Manchester, The Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester





25



Fig. 71. *A Woman Fleeing against the Wind* (M. 209). Charcoal, heightened with white body color, 388 × 275 mm (15 3/8 × 10 7/8 in.). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

he returned to several times, even in his late years. For the early painted version, which Maison dates to around 1850 (cat. no. 24), he decided to reverse the direction of the group and show it dwindling away into the background. A wind blowing in their faces now provides an opposing force, and this is underscored by a rhythmic, painterly application of accents of color. A charcoal drawing in Manchester (fig. 70) reveals how Daumier experimented with the change in direction using just the grouping of the mother with two children from the center of the relief. At the same time he changed the relative positions of her head, shoulder, and hips to heighten the sense of her having to labor against some opposing force. Another charcoal drawing, this one in Vienna (fig. 71), explores the effect of a head wind and how it gives added mass and weight to the struggling figure.

The Fugitives

(Les Fugitifs)

Black chalk, gray wash, and conté crayon
Wove paper: 140 × 245 mm (5½ × 9⅞ in.)
Signed in pen and ink, lower left: *h. D.*

Verso: *Male Head*

Chalk, pen and ink, wash

Paris, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts
(723)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 286 and 7 (verso); *Honoré Daumier: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Lithographien, Skulpturen*, exh. cat., Villa Schneider (Ingelheim am Rhein, 1971), no. 29; Passeron 1986, pp. 171f., illus. p. 171

The drawing *The Fugitives* was acquired by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris as early as 1869, while Daumier was still alive. Unlike catalogue number 23, it treats the subject of a homeless caravan as if it were a train disappearing into the distance, similar to the artist's painted versions of the subject (see cat. no. 24), yet there is no known painting directly based on it. In this drawing, the fugitives—or perhaps they are prisoners accompanied by guards on horseback, as Passeron suggests—are not forced to bend into the wind. They march upright toward brightness, into which they disappear in the distance. This treatment resembles Daumier's portrayal of another restless wanderer, Don Quixote (see cat. no. 123).

In this work one can see quite clearly how Daumier went about producing a drawing. One must assume that this is what made it

of particular interest to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. First he laid out the landscape with a few very delicate strokes of the crayon. He then placed his figures in it with a series of circular sketching movements. Finally, he gave volume to these figures by indicating the shadows with a strong, contrasting wash. The manner in which he applied this solid wash indicates that the drawing dates from the 1850s, yet its treatment of space anticipates his style in the following decade.

The verso (fig. 72) provides elucidation of the artist's creative process, the step-by-step development of a picture, like a kind of vision, a product of the imagination. If one looks closely at the man portrayed there, one has the impression that he may be envisioning a scene such as the one depicted here inside his head.



Fig. 72. *Head of a Man*
(verso of cat. no. 26). Chalk,
pen and ink, wash, 140 ×
245 mm (5½ × 9⅞ in.).
Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts



The Riot

(L'Émeute)

Charcoal, wash, and gouache

Wove paper: 574 × 428 mm (22⁵/₈ × 16⁷/₈ in.)

Inscribed in pen and ink lower left by Arsène Alexandre: *Esquisse de H. Daumier provenant de son atelier de Valmondois et acquise de Mme Vve. Daumier en 1891 (février). Arsène Alexandre.*

Oxford, The Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum (P1572)

EXHIBITIONS: London 1961, no. 102; Marseille 1979, no. 46

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 735; Veronika Kaposy, "Remarques sur deux époques importantes de l'art de Daumier dessinateur," *Acta Historiae Artium* (Budapest) 14, nos. 3–4 (1968), pp. 255–73, illus. 4; *Honoré Daumier: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Lithographien, Skulpturen*, exh. cat., Villa Schneider (Ingelheim am Rhein, 1971), no. 49; Provost, p. 217; Laughton 1991, pp. 44, 49–52, 58, illus. p. 50; Colin Harrison in *Line and Colour: Nineteenth Century French Drawings from the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, exh. cat. (Tokyo, 1992)



Fig. 73. Gabriel-François Doyen, *Saint Genoveva with Victims of the Plague*, 1767. Oil on canvas, 665 × 400 cm. Paris, Saint-Roch

Maison connects this large drawing to a series of works, never completed, that Daumier proposed about 1850 as illustrations for his friend Henri Martin's *The History of France*. However it is not altogether clear what the scene represents. While some would call it *The Riot* or possibly *Scene from the Revolution*, others interpret it as *The Destruction of Sodom*, a view most vigorously supported recently by Colin Harrison. Inasmuch as the figures are nude, it is clearly a study and—instead of an illustration—could be the sketch for a painting based on the artist's own experiences of the upheavals in 1848. The work shares certain compositional features and motifs with the lithograph *Dernier conseil des ex-ministres* from 1848 (D. 1746), though they are there reversed, and also with the large oil painting *We Want Barabbas* from the Museum Folkwang in Essen (M. I–31), which Maison dates to between 1849 and 1852.

The Riot betrays Daumier's search for a more ordered composition. In it he borrows from a baroque historical painting that in its day represented a style more realistic than classical, G. F. Doyen's *Saint Genoveva with Victims of the Plague*, created for the church of Saint-Roch in Paris in 1767 (fig. 73).



Saint Sebastian, 1849–50

(Saint Sébastien)

Charcoal

Wove paper: 322 × 187 mm (12¹/₁₆ × 7³/₈ in.)

Unsigned

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase 1969, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ittleson, Jr. Gift (69.23)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: not in Maison; K. E. Maison, "Some Additions to Daumier's Oeuvre," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (September 1970), pp. 623–24, illus. 86; Jacob Bean, *Dessins français du Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, de David à Picasso*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1973), no. 22, illus. 28; Marseille 1979, nos. 42, 43; Laughton 1991, pp. 74, 152, illus. p. 153

This drawing, which was unknown to Maison, is probably a first sketch for the large-format painting of *Saint Sebastian* (fig. 74) that was recently acquired by the Musée Municipal in Soissons. That work had hung in the church of the nearby village of Lesges since 1852, but was only recognized as the work of Daumier in 1979. The painting was then published, together with a related oil sketch, by Pierre Angrand.¹

In February 1849 Daumier received a government commission for a religious painting on a subject of his own choosing. He immediately determined to depict Saint Sebastian. In December of that year we find him using the compositional scheme of the present drawing for his caricature *Le Nouveau Saint Sébastien* (fig. 75). Since the sketch is very different from the finished painting, it too was doubtless produced as early as 1849–50.



Fig. 74. *Saint Sebastian*, 1852. Oil on canvas, 220 × 140 cm (86⁷/₈ × 55¹/₈ in.). Soissons, Musée Municipal, Ancienne Abbaye Saint-Léger

Faced with a religious subject, and the task of executing his ideas in the medium of painting, Daumier was entering new territory, for up to this time he had worked almost exclusively as a caricaturist. For all his skill, it is clear that he found it difficult to accommodate his figures to the overall design. This is particularly apparent in the figure of the saint himself, which is reminis-

cent of caricatured bodies from his earlier lithographic series such as *Les Baigneurs* (D. 760–790) or *Histoire ancienne* (D. 925–974), and also in those of the angels, which reappear as neo-baroque putti in the roughly contemporary *Idylles parlementaires* (D. 2050–2076).

As a draughtsman, Daumier failed to utilize the effect of charcoal on rough paper to distinguish between surfaces as a painter might. Instead, he created a relieflike arrangement of bodies in space by means of strong contrasts of light and dark.

1. Pierre Angrand, "Un tableau de Daumier retrouvé: 'Le Martyre de saint Sébastien,'" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 93 (February 1979), pp. 95–98.



Fig. 75. *Le Nouveau Saint Sébastien*. Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, December 25, 1849 (D. 1917). 274 × 209 mm (10⁷/₈ × 8¹/₄ in.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Bequest of William P. Babcock



The Kiss

(Le Baiser)

Dark brown chalk

Wove paper: 300 × 249 mm (11¹³/₁₆ × 9¹³/₁₆ in.)

Unsigned

Paris, Musée du Louvre,

Département des Arts Graphiques (RF 4181)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1934, no. 47; London 1961, no. 108

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 810; Veronika Kaposy, "Remarques sur deux époques importantes de l'art de Daumier dessinateur," *Acta Historiae Artium* (Budapest) 14, nos. 3–4 (1968), pp. 255–73, illus. 1; Passeron 1986, illus. p. 261; Provost, p. 218; Laughton 1991, pp. 57–59

The style of this drawing, with its highly simplified forms in broad strokes of the crayon on rough paper, is so very similar to that of *Saint Sebastian* (cat. no. 28) that one must assume that it dates from about the same time, namely 1849–50.

The scene, with its erotic subject matter, is almost without parallel in the drawings and

paintings of Daumier. It seems characteristic of him that the pair should be portrayed more as adversaries than as a loving couple, so that they give the impression of force and conquest rather than sensual pleasure. One finds similar effects in the early work of Cézanne. Laughton has convincingly identified an isolated group in Jean-François Detroy's monumental 1727 painting *La Peste de Marseille* as a possible model for this drawing, a work that Daumier could have known through engravings.

A closer source of inspiration might have been Célestin Nanteuil's lithograph of Préault's sculpture *Les Parias* (fig. 76), which Daumier had tacked to the wall of his studio.¹

1. Théodore de Banville, *Mes souvenirs* (Paris, 1882); cited in Jean Adhémar, *Honoré Daumier* (Paris, 1954), p. 102.



Fig. 76. Célestin Nanteuil, lithograph of the sculpture *Les Parias* by Antoine-Auguste Préault. Published in *L'Artiste*, 1834. 274 × 215 mm (10¹³/₁₆ × 8¹/₂ in.). Private Collection



The Drunkenness of Silenus, 1850

(L'Ivresse de Silène)

Black crayon, charcoal, conté crayon, white gouache
Laid paper: 430 × 610 mm (16¹⁵/₁₆ × 24¹/₁₆ in.)

Signed with conté crayon lower left: *h. Daumier*
Calais, Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Dentelle (51.70)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 175; Paris 1934, no. 52;
London 1961, no. 5; Marseille 1979, no. 44

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 762; T. J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois* (London, 1973), illus. 80; Passeron 1986, illus. p. 173; Provost, p. 218; Laughton 1991, pp. 50, 58, 70–72, illus. p. 72

Daumier exhibited this large-format, carefully executed drawing at the Salon of 1850. In its ambitious subject matter and its virtuosic combination of varied techniques it stands as a tour de force among Daumier's works on paper. One is reminded that in the later 1840s Courbet, Daumier's younger contemporary, had also exhibited such finished, programmatic drawings as being fully equal to his paintings.

The idea for this composition is related to the painting *The Triumph of Silenus* by Peter Paul Rubens or his workshop, now in the National Gallery in London. Daumier apparently borrowed from an engraving in reverse of that work, by Nicolas Delaunay (fig. 77).



Fig. 77. Nicolas Delaunay the elder, *Triumph of Silenus* after Rubens, 1777. Etching and engraving. 408 × 469 mm (16¹/₁₆ × 18¹/₂ in.). Frankfurt am Main, Städtisches Kunstinstitut



Fig. 78. *The Miller, His Son, and the Ass*, 1849 (M. I–24). Oil on canvas, 130 × 97 cm (51¹/₄ × 38³/₄ in.). Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Burrell Collection

Daumier's drawing reveals some essential differences, however. These derive from the fact that Daumier worked in certain elements from his own painting *The Miller, His Son, and the Ass* (fig. 78), which he had just completed. Among these are the young



Fig. 79. Théodore Géricault, *Triumph of Silenus*, ca. 1816–17. Crayon, wash, and gouache, 206 × 279 mm (8¹/₈ × 11 in.). Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts

woman pointing into the background with her outstretched arm, the fruit basket, also inspired by Rubens, and the compositional device of the diagonal providing the direct link between background and foreground. Because the number of figures in Daumier's drawing is smaller, what was in Rubens a procession moving parallel to the picture plane has become instead a violent round dance, in which Silenus is pulled along by the figures on either side of him. If one compares the two works, it becomes clear that Daumier was less interested in Rubens's coloristic sensuality than in his arrangement of physical volumes and rich sense of movement in space.

The technique, subject matter, and style of this work also remind one of works by Géricault, especially his own *Triumph of Silenus* (fig. 79). That drawing, from the collection of Eudoxe Marcille (Lugt 605a), was still in Paris in Daumier's time, and it is likely that he saw it along with other similar works.

The body and facial features of Daumier's Silenus are so strikingly individual that they reduce the aspect of his mythological meaning. T. J. Clark and B. Laughton are convinced that the figure is a parody of Dr. Véron, the publisher of the *Constitutionnel*. One might well ask if Daumier was not thinking of King Louis-Philippe as well, exposing to ridicule the monarch he had often portrayed in vicious caricatures. Either way, it is clear that the figure is no longer an illustration from classical mythology in the traditional sense, for it is far too individualistic. The scene assumes a degree of ambivalence that marks it as being altogether modern.



Archimedes, ca. 1850

(Archimède)

Black and brown charcoal

Wove paper: 420 × 367 mm (16½ × 14⅞ in.)

Unsigned

Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (1935–2685)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 811; Veronika Kaposy, "Remarques sur deux époques importantes de l'art de Daumier dessinateur," *Acta Historiae Artium* (Budapest) 14, nos. 3–4 (1968), pp. 255–73, illus. 3; Provost, p. 218; Laughton 1991, pp. 52, 57, 142, 152, illus. p. 51

As was the case with the preceding works, this portrayal of the murder of Archimedes is without parallel in the work of Daumier. He left no other references to the subject. The work is executed in a strong, angular, almost monumental style that gives it the look of a cartoon for a painting or a wall fresco, which would suggest that it was produced in 1850 or the years immediately following.



Fig. 80. Eugène Delacroix, *The Death of Archimedes*, ca. 1846. Oil on canvas, 44 × 36 cm (17⅞ × 14⅜ in.). Private Collection

As with his *Emigrants*, Daumier was possibly inspired here by Delacroix, who had dealt with the same subject on one of the pendentives in the library of the Palais Bourbon. Delacroix's frescoes were completed in January 1847, and over the course of the following year they were widely discussed in the press and in art circles generally. A corresponding painting in a smaller format, only sketchily executed, was exhibited in the Galerie des Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1852 (fig. 80).¹ Daumier could well have been familiar with both versions. His own composition points up the radically different character of the two artists, despite their closeness in age. While Delacroix emphasized the contrast between scholarly contemplation and bellicose aggression, Daumier structured the attack by the Roman soldier in a dramatic sequence of action.

Delacroix's *Archimedes* in the Palais Bourbon is part of a cycle of works devoted to the sciences. Daumier's interest in the subject may have derived from his concern, during and after the revolution of 1848, about the role of the intellectual and the artist in times of social turbulence, whether it was better to participate actively or maintain an intellectual distance.

1. Lee Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix* (Oxford, 1986), vol. 3, no. 287.



The Thieves and the Ass

(Les Voleurs et l'âne)

Black chalk

Wove paper: 340 × 255 mm (13 3/8 × 10 in.)

Unsigned

Paris, Musée du Louvre,

Département des Arts Graphiques (RF 36.799)

EXHIBITION: Marseille 1979, no. 63

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 395; Claude Roger-Marx, *Daumier und seine Welt* (Paris, 1972), illus. p. 41; *Donations Claude Roger-Marx*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1980), no. 14; Bruce Laughton, "Some Daumier Drawings for Lithographs," *Master Drawings* 22, no. 1 (1984), pp. 56–63; Provost, p. 215; Laughton 1991, pp. 142–43, illus. p. 143



32



Fig. 81. *L'Âne et les deux voleurs*. Lithograph, published in *Le Boulevard*, 1862 (D. 3253). 228 × 202 mm (9 × 8 in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928

The Thieves and the Ass

(Les Voleurs et l'âne)

Oil on canvas

41.5 × 33 cm (16³/₈ × 13 in.)

Unsigned

Private Collection

EXHIBITION: Paris 1901, no. 2

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison I–115; Georgel and Mandel 1972, no. 152

In one of La Fontaine's fables, two thieves fall to quarreling over a donkey they have stolen, while a third chances upon them and makes off with the beast. Motifs from the fables of La Fontaine occupied Daumier repeatedly in the late 1840s and 1850s. One product of his interest in them was the painting *The Miller, His Son, and the Ass* (fig. 78), which he exhibited in 1849. In 1855 he and his artist friends from Barbizon planned a series of illustrations for these tales (see also cat. no. 34).¹

The powerful chalk drawing in the Louvre (cat. no. 32) was produced as a sketch for a painted version (also in the Louvre; M. I–116), for which a virtuoso oil sketch survives as well (cat. no. 33). Daumier repeated the motif in a lithograph in 1862 (fig. 81), but the painting and drawing must have been executed much earlier, perhaps in the first half of the 1850s.

Daumier here took up the subject of man's bestial behavior, one that Delacroix had already dealt with in painting and Antoine-Louis Barye had presented in sculpture. The wrestlers' heavy bodies are in fact patterned after one of Barye's sculptures (see above, pp. 34–37 and fig. 42). The violence of the struggle depicted in the drawing is toned down in the paintings to a more harmless wrestling. The third figure riding away with the donkey in the background is only sketchily outlined, so that the moral of the fable is obscured. As in the *Archimedes* (cat. no. 31), Daumier neglected the narrative element in favor of physical action.

1. Bruce Laughton, *The Drawings of Daumier and Millet* (New Haven, 1991), pp. 207–8.



33

Study for The Two Doctors and Death

(Etude pour "Les Deux Médecins et la Mort")

Charcoal, red and white chalk

Wove paper: 260 × 210 mm (10¼ × 8¼ in.)

Unsigned

Private Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: not in *Maison*; Sotheby's, London, sale cat., July 1, 1992, lot 1

This drawing, which only recently appeared on the art market, is a sketch for the watercolor of the same title in the collection of Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur (fig. 82). It is based on La Fontaine's fable (book V, 12) about two doctors who quarrel over how best to treat a patient. Once the patient has died, each takes this as proof that he was correct. Daumier ignored the narrative details of the fable, concentrating instead on depicting the doctors' egotistical behavior. The subject is also reminiscent of Molière, of course, and the gestures and costumes Daumier selected bring to mind the theater,

perhaps a scene from the *Malade imaginaire*.

The drawing is directly related to the actor portrait (cat. no. 19). Not only is a small pen and ink drawing of Death and two doctors included on that sheet, but the artist's use of the chalk and his way of building up volume by means of contrasting planes in that work are very similar to what we see here. This connection, plus the fact that Daumier was inspired by La Fontaine (see cat. nos. 32, 33), would suggest that the present drawing was executed in the second half of the 1850s.



Fig. 82. *The Two Doctors and Death* (M. 400). Crayon, pen and ink, and watercolor, 325 × 280 mm (12⅞ × 11⅛ in.). Winterthur, Oskar Reinhart Collection



Centaur Abducting a Woman

(Centaure enlevant une femme)

Pen and ink, gray wash on traces of black chalk

Laid paper: 274 × 367 mm (10¾ × 14⅞ in.)

Unsigned

Paris, Musée du Louvre,

Département des Arts Graphiques (RF 35.838)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1934, no. 53; Philadelphia 1937, no. 45

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 750; Roseline Bacou, "Donation Claude Roger-Marx, II," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 24, nos. 4–5 (1974), pp. 307–12; Provost, p. 218; Laughton 1991, p. 25, illus. no. 10

This drawing, possibly intended to illustrate the legend of Nessus and Deianira, is one of the few works, other than lithographs, in which Daumier takes his subject from classical mythology. His chief interest is the violent movement of the struggling bodies, and he presents these with a combination of generous use of wash and free, nervous lines. The combination of eroticism and violence is here much more pronounced than in the drawing *The Kiss* (cat. no. 29), and this, as well as the style of the drawing, would seem to justify our dating the work to the late 1860s.

One may notice superficial borrowings from baroque presentations of such scenes,

and one cannot overlook Daumier's characteristic eye for the suspense of the moment, one that could just as well flip over into farce. Because of this, the scene is brought back from the realm of myth and high drama and takes on a more immediate, almost everyday humanity.

Géricault's example may have been influential, for the earlier painter presented the abduction of women in various versions and techniques, interpreting it as a battle of the sexes. Comparison of the sketches relating to the present work with corresponding ones by Géricault tends to confirm Daumier's indebtedness (see M. 746–749; for Géricault, see fig. 83).



Fig. 83. Théodore Géricault, *Studies for a Centaur Abducting a Nymph*, ca. 1816–17. Pen and ink, 179 × 250 mm (7⅛ × 9⅞ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre



Five Studies for the Prodigal Son

(Cinq Etudes pour l'enfant prodigue)

Pen and ink, black and gray wash

Laid paper: 200 × 140 mm (7⁷/₈ × 5¹/₂ in.)

Unsigned

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art,

Rosenwald Collection (1942.3.3238)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 754; Laughton 1991, p. 154, illus. p. 155

Two Studies for the Prodigal Son

(Deux Etudes du retour d'enfant prodigue)

Pen and wash

Laid paper: 205 × 115 mm (8¹/₁₆ × 4¹/₂ in.)

Unsigned

Cardiff, National Museum of Wales (52.139)

EXHIBITION: Marseille 1979, no. 80

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 756; Provost, p. 218; Laughton 1991, p. 154, illus. p. 155

The number of small-format studies on this subject among Daumier's late drawings—possibly from the early 1870s (M. 753–758; see fig. 84)—would indicate that he may have been planning a painting that was either never executed or no longer survives. The lithograph *Mon champ saccagé* (fig. 86), published in 1870, utilizes a similar composition in a secular, but not altogether unrelated context, and this tends to confirm the dating suggested above.

Given Daumier's views about life, it is not surprising that one finds so few religious subjects in his oeuvre, which only makes his late interest in this particular motif all the more remarkable. As Judith Wechsler comments above (p. 41), Daumier has concentrated exclusively on the grouping of the father embracing his long-lost son.



Fig. 84. *Three Studies for the Prodigal Son* (M. 757). Pen and ink; 92 × 64 mm (3⁵/₈ × 2¹/₂ in.), 102 × 84 mm (4 × 3⁵/₁₆ in.), 84 × 64 mm (3⁵/₁₆ × 2¹/₂ in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection





Fig. 85. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1636. Etching, 156 × 136 mm (6 1/8 × 5 3/8 in.). Frankfurt am Main, Städelches Kunstinstitut



Fig. 86. *Mon champ saccagé...* Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, August 5, 1870 (D. 3798). 250 × 226 mm (9 7/8 × 9 in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Edwin De T. Bechtel, 1957

The scene presented here is highly emotional and private; and this is reflected in Daumier's choice of a small format, his rapid succession of sketches in various techniques, and his agitated play of lines. We note that he first pictured the embrace from the side and even from the back, developing it cinematically from one sketch to the next—finally with the addition of washes.

The studies on the Cardiff sheet represent a decisive change, for the father and son are now facing forward, almost in the manner of a Pietà, and the light falls on them from behind. Daumier has taken the biblical text quite literally, for the father has rushed out of the house to greet his son. But the artist clearly prefers the moment in which the old man leads his son back inside. The back-lighting heightens the group's effectiveness, and in addition to defining the space, the doorway functions as a framing element.

The use of light in this work and its expressive graphic structure seem reminiscent of Rembrandt, especially his etchings. And in fact certain details, such as the form of the steps and the large stick lying on the ground, appear to derive from Rembrandt's version of the same subject (fig. 85).

Given Daumier's age at the time, the very private nature of the drawing, and for that matter the probable borrowing from Rembrandt, it is possible that these were not designs for a painting at all, but rather meditations on a subject that for some reason—perhaps having to do with his own past—he found particularly compelling in his old age.



Contemporary Genre: Urbanity and Domesticity

COLTA IVES

Of the rare utterances that can be attributed to Daumier, the best known is his dictum: "One must be of one's own time."¹ Indeed, no other artist at work in the maelstrom of mid-nineteenth-century Paris was more au courant than he, for Daumier, a man of few words and little ego, showed a keen and productive interest in practically everyone around him.

One of four children, Daumier arrived in Paris from Marseille in 1816, at the age of eight. It was necessary for his impecunious family to change apartments ten times between then and 1832, and when he started work as a bailiff's errand boy at age twelve, he was already well acquainted with several of the city's neighborhoods. His urban education was furthered by his job as a clerk in Delaunay's bookshop in the busy shopping center of the Palais Royal, and by then the benign receptivity to all manifestations of human emotion which made him a sympathetic observer and an astute journalist had become highly developed.

Daumier's fascination with Parisians was far from unique; the citizens were, in fact, enthralled with themselves. The diverse populace that increased fourfold during the century, while its government endured political revolutions and the city underwent extensive physical redesign, needed constantly to check up on itself. Its high ambitions and carefree pastimes, its manners and habits, and its reluctantly changing attitudes impelled the novels of Balzac, Champfleury, Sue, and Murger. Pamphlets and parlor-table books examining every aspect of the city and its life including the full panoply of trades and professions, public monuments, and popular diversions were published under such titles as *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (1840–42), *Paris au dix-neuvième siècle: Recueil de scènes de la vie Parisienne* (1841), *Le Diable à Paris: Paris et les Parisiens* (1845–46), *Tableau de Paris* (1852–53),



Fig. 87. *Le Nouveau Paris*. Lithograph, published in *Le Boulevard*, April 6, 1862 (D. 3245). 268 × 226 mm (10½ × 9 in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928

Paris et les Parisiens au XIX^e siècle: Mœurs, arts et monuments (1856), and *Paris dans sa splendeur* (1861).

A large tribe of illustrators and caricaturists, including Grandville, Monnier, Traviès, Cham, and Gavarni, also filled newspapers and magazines with anecdotal vignettes of

current interest. Most of these were too formulaic or fashionable to be much worth remembering and are now only occasionally excavated as historical remains. But Daumier's extended pictorial report on Frenchmen's daily encounters, published serially in *Le Charivari*, has always been of vital

interest, meeting the challenge Baudelaire put to modern artists, to snatch the epic quality from the life of everyday, “to distill the eternal from the transitory.”²

Unlike Daubigny, Rousseau, Millet, and other innovative artists of his day who abandoned Paris in order to establish themselves in a rural setting, Daumier thrived on the city’s traffic and turmoil (see fig. 87), pacing himself to its quickened rhythms and the incessant deadlines of the daily press. Having made his name as a political cartoonist, he suddenly found himself prevented from scrutinizing government officials by censorship laws enacted in 1835; it was then that he zealously turned his attention to the man in the street, the day laborer, and the bourgeois, whom modern times had thrown together, elbow to elbow.

For more than three decades and in more than three thousand prints, Daumier explored the jumbled lives of Parisians, following them along the quays, across bridges, into the bistros and shops, onto buses and trains, and upstairs into their own living rooms and bedrooms, pointing them out to us in their top hats, ballgowns, bathing suits, and nightshirts. “No one better than he,” declared Baudelaire, “has known and loved (in the manner of the artists) the bourgeois . . . this type at once so commonplace and eccentric. Daumier has lived in close contact with him, has watched him day and night; he has learned his intimate secrets, has made the acquaintance of his wife and children, knows the shape of his nose, the structure of his head, he knows the sort of spirit that gives life to the household, from top to bottom.”³

Indeed, much more than Millet’s stolid peasant folk who were seen dutifully working the farm, Daumier’s energetic, combative city people seem to embody the century’s progressive spirit.

Because Daumier created his lithographs for the entertainment of a thousand or more busy newspaper subscribers, he designed them to amuse effectively and efficiently. And even when his prints are relieved of the captions written for them by others, they continue to carry their own punch line. Although it is often subtle, and usually ironic, the inherent humorous message is almost immediately legible.

Daumier’s drawings, on the other hand, were not required to be either funny or widely popular. Initiated as the artist’s own private essays, or intentionally addressed to a relatively circumspect audience of art collectors and connoisseurs, they were free to relax into a less programmatic agenda; and they did not have to be rushed to meet publishers’ deadlines.

Inevitably, there were the collectors for whom watercolors had to be made that directly called to mind Daumier “the famous caricaturist,” and their demands may be perceived in several subjects attractive to special interest groups, including particularly the law courts, buses, and trains. For the most part, however, Daumier made a place in his drawings and watercolors, as in his paintings, for the sights that appealed to him as an individual, and their often intimate and tranquil nature suggests that he sometimes created everyday scenes into which he might pleasurably have positioned him-

self: to partake in the affectionate warmth of a family (cat. no. 42); to share a drink and a smoke among friends (cat. nos. 59–63); to read a book in a sunlit garden (cat. no. 64); or to contemplate in solitude the beauty of fine art (cat. no. 77). Daumier pictured such themes in modern furniture and dress, but the situations are ones common to human experience and can be found depicted also in works by Raphael, Rembrandt, Callot, Fragonard, and by artists of still earlier times and more distant cultures.

There is thus a supremely comforting universality to the behavior Daumier describes with heartfelt understanding. His repertoire of men and women, and their actions and emotions, although much more limited than the intimidatingly vast and entangled ensemble called forth in Balzac’s novels of “La Comédie humaine,” are ultimately more comprehensible. More consistent and less complex, they are capable of convincing us of the continuity between ourselves past and present. In that sense, Daumier proves himself a man of his own time and also of ours.

1. Quoted in Oliver W. Larkin, *Daumier: Man of His Time* (New York, 1966), p. 210.
2. Charles Baudelaire, “La modernité,” in *Le peintre de la vie moderne*. In *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Claude Pichois (Paris, 1975–76), vol. 2, p. 694: “Il s’agit, pour lui, de dégager de la mode ce qu’elle peut contenir de poétique dans l’historique, de tirer l’éternel du transitoire.”
3. Charles Baudelaire, “Some French Caricaturists,” *Selected Writings on Art and Artists*, trans. P. E. Charvet (London, 1972), p. 222; quoted in Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris* (Chicago, 1982), pp. 136–37.

*A Woman and a Child
Crossing a Bridge, 1855–60*

(Blanchisseuse et son enfant)

Black chalk, pen and ink with wash

Wove paper: 290 × 220 mm (11⅜ × 8⅞ in.)

Initialed in ink, lower left: *b.D.*

Paris, André Bromberg Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: not in *Maison*; Nouveau Drouot, Paris, sale cat., May 6, 1987, lot 18

Daumier must have been touched by the sight of women walking their children through the Paris streets either on their way to market, or to school, or to do the laundry in the barges on the Seine. There are more than fifteen paintings and an equal number of drawings by Daumier that show such urban scenes. Best known among them is *The Laundress* (M. I–84), a small oil on



Fig. 88. *A Woman and Child Crossing a Bridge* (M. I–9). Oil on panel, 26.6 × 21 cm (10½ × 8¼ in.). Washington, D.C., The Phillips Collection

panel which was hung too high and received too little notice at the Salon exhibition of 1861, although Daumier saw fit to repeat the composition twice.

Closest to the size and subject of this wash drawing, which has only rather recently come to light, is a painting in the Phillips Collection, Washington (fig. 88). In both works long shadows are cast along the ground, suggesting an hour early in the morning or at the end of the day. Unique to the ink study is the sympathetic union of mother and child by the meeting of their gazes, for the woman looks back toward the girl reassuringly.

Although the robust female figure with swinging skirts calls to mind the women in the foreground of Daumier's 1849 painting *The Miller, His Son, and the Ass* (fig. 78), the drawing, with its dancing, broken lines, is later, after the publisher Poulet-Malassis noted in his diary on January 14, 1852, that he had seen in Daumier's studio an early work on the same theme: "a Washerwoman dragging a little girl along the quayside, blown by a great wind."¹

1. Original manuscript in the archives of the department of paintings, Musée du Louvre; quoted in translation by Bruce Laughton, *The Drawings of Daumier and Millet* (New Haven, 1991), p. 97.



A Woman Nursing a Child

(Détresse; Mère assise avec son enfant endormi)

Charcoal

Laid paper: 365 × 280 mm (14 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

Watermark: I VERSAY

Unsigned

Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario,

Gift of Sam and Ayala Zacks, 1970 (71/108)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 221; *A Tribute to Samuel J. Zacks from the Sam and Ayala Zacks Collection*, exh. cat., Art Gallery of Ontario (Toronto, 1971), no. 98; Laughton 1991, p. 105

The impressive weight of Daumier's seated matron is sufficient to relate her to the powerful, nurturing figure cast in the role of *La République* (fig. 66). Indeed, we do not often find in the artist's work such solemn and sedate human forms. It is usually in Daumier's somewhat later pictures, with their disconsolate saltimbanques, that such world-weary people appear (cat. no. 112).

More akin to Daumier's laundresses than to the bourgeois mothers who charmingly grace his watercolors of the 1860s, this solidly sculptural nurse may be dated to the early 1850s, when the artist sought to reconcile his appreciation for classical statuary with his attraction to Rubens and the baroque.



The Soup

(La Soupe)

Charcoal, black chalk, pen and ink, wash, watercolor, and conté crayon

Laid paper (two sheets joined together):

303 × 494 mm (11 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Initialed in brown ink, lower center: *h.D.*

Paris, Musée du Louvre,

Département des Arts Graphiques (RF 5188)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 212; Paris 1934, no. 63; Philadelphia 1937, no. 16; Marseille 1979, no. 56

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 698; Provost, p. 217; Laughton 1991, pp. 105–6

Ostensibly the same monumental figure whom Daumier represented with such pathos in an earlier charcoal (cat. no. 39), the matron in *The Soup*, who nourishes herself as she feeds her baby, may date somewhat later on account of the greater vehemence of the work and the marked assurance and agility of its lines. The drawing is related to five paintings (three of them now lost) which Maison dates 1855–58 (M. I–95, 96).



40

A working-class scene such as this may be compared with the more restrained rustic idylls of Daumier's friend Millet, who showed a painting of a woman spoon-feeding a child in the Salon of 1861 (fig. 89). But perhaps more could be said of the work's relation to the tumultuous domestic dramas pictured in works of Fragonard and Greuze, where families are seen to jostle about a steaming meal (see fig. 90).

Daumier again depicted a ravenous woman at the dinner table in his caricature of *Madame Gargantua* (D. 3488) published in 1866.



Fig. 89. Jean-François Millet, *A Woman Feeding a Child*, 1861. Oil on canvas, 114 × 99 cm (44 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 39 in.). Marseille, Musée des Beaux-Arts



Fig. 90. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Preparing the Meal*, ca. 1760. Oil on canvas, 47 × 61 cm (18 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 24 in.). Moscow, Pushkin Museum



42

The Family

(Monsieur, Madame et Bébé)

Black chalk, pen and ink, wash, watercolor, conté crayon, and gouache

Laid paper: 174 × 192 mm (6⁷/₈ × 7¹/₂ in.)

Signed in conté crayon, lower right: *h Daumier*
Washington, D.C., The Phillips Collection (1953)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 119; Paris 1934, no. 55;
London 1961, no. 117

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 699; Sasha M. Newman,
French Drawings from the Phillips Collection, exh.
cat. (Washington, D.C., 1985), no. 9

Although Daumier frequently portrayed Parisian families at home in lithographs, he seems never to have done so in paintings, and only rarely in his drawings. A watercolor showing a mother and child seated in an interior (M. 689) is believed to represent Madame Pierre Bureau and her son Paul (later a collector of Daumier's drawings and paintings), and this family portrait, likewise from the early 1860s, seems also to have been made with specific people in mind.

Posed before an open window, in a portrait arrangement that became traditional during the Renaissance, Daumier's polite and restrained bourgeois family stands in sharp contrast to the uncouth, unselfconscious group that dines together in *The Soup* (cat. no. 40).

41

A Woman Nursing a Child

(Femme allaitant)

Black chalk, wash, and conté crayon

Laid paper: 163 × 143 mm (6³/₈ × 5⁵/₈ in.)

Initialed in ink, upper left: *h.D.*

Private Collection

EXHIBITION: Paris 1901, no. 269

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 222

The tenderness and tranquillity seen in this drawing is seldom displayed in Daumier's prints for, with the exception of a few lithographs of the 1830s and occasional portrayals of mendicants, he usually made relations between parents and children a mockery.

This simple scene, made poignantly affecting by a baroque shaft of light, reveals the careful, tonal structure that underlies Daumier's wash drawings and watercolors before they became overlaid with detail. The sparing use of a crinkled line amid blocks of shadow and light is characteristic of Daumier's work between 1855 and 1860 (see also cat. no. 38).



Paternal Correction

(Scène de ménage)

Black chalk, gray and black wash, pen and ink
Laid paper: 253 × 200 mm (10 × 7⁷/₈ in.)

Initialed in ink, lower left: *h D.*

The Art Institute of Chicago, Arthur Heun Fund
(1952.1108)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 108; Paris 1901,
no. 126

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 693; Provost, p. 217;
Harold Joachim, *French Drawings and Sketchbooks
of the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 1978), vol. 1,
no. 2D3

Daumier explored the ways in which (usually helpless) fathers cope with unruly children in the series: *Croquis d'expressions* (1838–39); *Moeurs conjugales* (1839–42); *Bas-Bleus* (1844); *Les Papas* (1846–48); and *Les Enfantillages* (1851–52). The exasperating situations illustrated in these lithographs (fig. 91) presented ample opportunities for comic effects, and the artist pursued them all at full tilt, with the same nervy realism Rembrandt showed (fig. 92) and with a greater flair for abstraction.

This unusually caricatural wash drawing, rich in desperate expressions and arrested motion, refers somewhat self-consciously to the exaggerations that are typical of Daumier's prints of the 1840s and 1850s. However, its convincing spatial depth, wiry lines, and dramatic illumination attest to a date in the mid to late 1860s.



Fig. 91. *Petit scélérat! Je crois qu'il aura mon nez!*
Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, March 1,
1840 (D. 639). 257 × 214 mm (10¹/₈ × 8¹/₂ in.).
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Bequest of Edwin De T. Bechtel, 1957



Fig. 92. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Naughty Boy*,
ca 1635. Pen and wash, 206 × 143 mm (8¹/₈ × 5⁵/₈
in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer
Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett





44

A Man Chasing a Dog

(Homme battant son chien)

Pen and black and red ink
Laid paper: 257 × 191 mm (10¹/₈ × 7¹/₂ in.)
Signed (by another hand?) in brown ink,
lower right: *h.D.*

New York, José Mugrabi Collections

BIBLIOGRAPHY: not in *Maison*; Hôtel Drouot, Paris,
sale cat., July 6, 1978, lot 39; Sotheby's, New York,
sale cat., November 19, 1986, lot 24

Daumier's success at capturing live action seems to predict the best attempts of the Futurists. Launched ahead of their time, his rapidly scrawled lines wrap around cores of energy, propelling them forward, springlike. This intense style of drawing creates its own dynamic, apart from the mobility it describes,

and underscores the momentary nature of any posture.

A drawing unknown to *Maison* when he published his catalogue raisonné in 1968, this chase scene has the vigor and truth of an incident recently encountered. Although a late work of probably 1865–70, it harks back to the summer of 1852 when Daumier responded in his published caricatures to the unpopular suggestion made in the press that Parisian dogs were a public nuisance and ought to be rounded up (see D.2250–2259).

45

A Woman Walking with Two Children

(Mère avec ses enfants)

Pen and ink, with wash
Laid paper: 241 × 140 mm (9¹/₂ × 5¹/₂ in.)
Initialed in ink, lower left: *h.D.*
Private Collection

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 214; Paris 1901,
no. 232

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison* 238

Daumier portrayed women most sympathetically when he cast them in the roles of mothers. Indeed, among the themes of family life which entered his work so often, his scenes of mothers and children walking together are among the most affecting, for they represent family ties with touching simplicity and subtlety.

In his caricatures, which generally dealt with the comical difficulties of parenting, and in his drawings and watercolors, which prized calmer moments of tenderness and warmth, Daumier must have recalled his own experiences growing up in a family of four children. But these memories were evoked, one suspects, with a certain nostalgia since, tragically, the artist's only offspring died in infancy.

The convincing truthfulness and unpretentious rendering of this drawing by

Daumier of a mother strolling with her two children can be compared to Rembrandt's graphic works where brittle and frankly awkward ink lines are laid out without any thought of being pretty in themselves and do not pretend to outline anything concrete but strive instead to describe something so evanescent as feelings. The fragile lines combined with touches of wash create evocative passages of shadow and light, illuminating the mother's face that shines with affection for her baby, while the averted face of the toddler beside her (a sibling rival?) is somewhat clouded.

This transparent, incorporeal work of the late 1860s contrasts most dramatically with Daumier's wash drawing of the 1850s (cat. no. 38) in which a fuller and more solid looking working mother has the robust presence of a figure by Rubens.



The Waiting Room

(Une Salle d'attente)

Black chalk, pen and ink, and wash

Wove paper: 219 × 171 mm (8⁵/₈ × 6³/₄ in.)

Initialed in ink, lower right: *h.D.*

New York, Alice M. Kaplan Collection

EXHIBITION: Paris 1878, no. 163

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 306; Linda Bantel, *The Alice M. Kaplan Collection* (New York, 1981), no. 49

Of Daumier's several depictions of a travelers' waiting room, this one presents most attractively the artist's stock cast: the aged woman with her market basket, the gentleman with his hands folded over his cane, a young woman in a bonnet, and a little boy. The brilliant, flickering light that bathes this serene group and Daumier's graceful handling of the ink suggest his acquaintance with the wash drawings of eighteenth-century Venetians (see fig. 14).

Rather than a preliminary study for the painting at the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo (M. 1–39), this assured and finely composed drawing is likely a later work, postdating also a related watercolor (M. 307) and a clumsy wood engraving after one of Daumier's designs, published in *Le Monde illustré* on March 15, 1862 (Bouvy 926).



The Departure of the Train,
ca. 1862–64

(Le Départ du train)

Black chalk, pen and ink, wash, conté crayon,
watercolor, and gouache

Laid paper: 150 × 255 mm (5⁷/₈ × 10 in.)

Signed in ink, upper right: *h. Daumier*

Private Collection

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 187

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 310; Theodore Reff, *Manet
and Modern Paris*, exh. cat., National Gallery of
Art (Washington, D.C., 1982), no. 12



Fig. 93. *Grand train de plaisir...* Lithograph,
published in *Le Charivari*, September 21, 1864
(D. 3302). 238 × 220 mm (9³/₈ × 8⁵/₈ in.). Los
Angeles, The Armand Hammer Daumier and
Contemporaries Collection, The Armand Ham-
mer Museum of Art and Cultural Center

A crowd of travelers such as this probably jostled Daumier himself as he hurried to board the Sunday excursion trains to Auvers-sur-Oise or to Valmondois, a short ride northwest of Paris. He designed a wood engraving on the same theme, published in *Le Monde illustré* on May 3, 1862 (Bouvy 929), and returned to the subject in a lithograph for *Le Charivari* of September 21, 1864 (fig. 93). In each case passengers were depicted half-length, perhaps because the artist dreaded the tedium of filling in so many legs and feet. He concentrated instead on the purposeful uniformity of the mass which seems to have been aimed toward the tracks by a beacon of light.



47

Third-Class Carriage, ca. 1862–64

(Intérieur d'un wagon de troisième classe)

Conté crayon, wash, watercolor, and gouache

Wove paper: 212 × 340 mm (8⅜ × 13⅜ in.)

Signed in conté crayon, lower right: *h. Daumier*
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery (37.1226)

EXHIBITIONS: Philadelphia 1937, no. 25; London
1961, no. 190

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison* 298; Washington 1979,
no. 75

It was by tracing this watercolor and then enlarging the composition that Daumier produced his celebrated painting (fig. 95), known also in a later version in Ottawa (M. I-166).¹ Like some of Millet's works, this image came to symbolize the heroic dignity of the working class in post-revolutionary France. But instead of laboring in the fields, as Frenchmen had done for centuries, the ordinary people in this picture are shown enduring the tedium of modern travel.

The bored but patient passengers who lined the unupholstered wood benches of the third-class cars had been portrayed by Daumier before, notably in a lithograph (fig. 94) and a painting (M. I-109), both produced in the mid-1850s. His return to this subject in the same direct, head-on manner during the early 1860s stimulated commissions for the two watercolors of the second- and first-class carriages (cat. nos. 49 and 50), which joined the *Third-Class Carriage* in the collection of railway magnate William Walters (see also cat. no. 54).

1. This process is explained in Henri Marceau and David Rosen, "Daumier: Draftsman-Painter," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 3 (1940), pp. 15–33.



Fig. 94. *Impressions de voyage en chemin de fer*. Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, November 9, 1855 (D. 2640). 253 × 185 mm (10 × 7⅜ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922



Fig. 95. *Third-Class Carriage*, 1863–65 (M. I-165). Oil on canvas, 65.4 × 90.2 cm (25¾ × 35½ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929





49

Second-Class Carriage, 1864

(Intérieur d'un wagon de deuxième classe)

Black chalk, wash, watercolor, conté crayon, and gouache

Wove paper: 205 × 301 mm (8 1/8 × 11 7/8 in.)

Signed in ink, lower left: *h. Daumier*

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery (37.1224)

EXHIBITIONS: Philadelphia 1937, no. 24; London 1961, no. 189

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison* 297; Washington 1979, no. 74

In the diary of George A. Lucas, a retired railway engineer who bought works of art in Paris for American collectors, the purchase of this watercolor and the one following (cat. no. 50) are recorded. Having commissioned and received from Daumier the watercolor *Omnibus* (M. 294) early in 1864, Lucas returned to the artist after two weeks (April 29, 1864) and “ordered 1st and 2nd Class.” Both works were ready in a month’s time, and on June 6, Lucas “took & paid for (200 fs) for 2 drawings 1st and 2nd Class R Road.”¹

All three watercolors commissioned by Lucas that spring entered the collection of

Northern Central Railway investor William Walters, who was also a backer of the Baltimore Street Car Company. The *Second-Class Carriage* was a revision of Daumier’s design for a wood engraving which was published in *Le Monde illustré* (January 18, 1862) with the title *Pleasure Train, 10 Degrees of Boredom and Bad Humor* (Bouvy 921).

1. *The Diary of George A. Lucas: An American Art Agent in Paris, 1857–1909*, transcribed and with an introduction by Lilian M. C. Randall (Princeton, 1979), pp. 174–79.



50

First-Class Carriage, 1864

(Intérieur d'un wagon de première classe)

Black chalk, wash, watercolor, and conté crayon

Wove paper: 205 × 300 mm (8 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 11 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.)

Signed in ink, lower left: *h. Daumier*

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery (37.1225)

EXHIBITIONS: Philadelphia 1937, no. 23; London

1961, no. 188

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison* 296; Washington 1979, no. 73

The great age of railway development (1840–70) brought together thousands of travelers, some of whom considered their situation dangerous. The Abbé Hulot published books that urged people to remain at home rather than face the possible hazards of corruption by strangers in public vehicles, and, if one simply had to travel, he advised, one should pretend to be asleep in order to avoid conversation.¹

Daumier demonstrated the ideal placidity and self-effacement recommended in this watercolor of first-class passengers. He usually depicted well-behaved travelers in his drawings and paintings, although his lithographs customarily tangled with situations and people that were disagreeable.

1. Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848–1945: Intellect and Pride* (New York, 1979), p. 91.



51

Third-Class Carriage, ca. 1865

(Un Wagon de troisième classe)

Black chalk, gray wash, pen and ink
Wove paper: 235 × 330 mm (9¼ × 13 in.)
Unsigned
Bern, E. W. Kornfeld Collection

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 227; London 1961,
no. 191

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 302; *Von Goya bis Tinguely:*
Aquarelle und Zeichnungen aus einer Privatsamm-
lung, exh. cat., Kunstmuseum (Bern, 1989), no. 3

A preliminary study for the watercolor now in Winterthur (fig. 96), this drawing reveals the initial stages of one of Daumier's most unusual train-travel compositions, which opens at the center to the figure of a small boy lying facedown, sleeping. Probably among the last of the artist's third-class-carriage scenes, this one follows another version in watercolor in which the boy remains seated at the far right (M. 301), as he is in Daumier's earlier works on this theme (cat. no. 48).

Unmistakably a working drawing, this sheet demonstrates the steps Daumier took in constructing his watercolors, first establishing the main structure with charcoal or chalk, then blocking in areas of deepest shadow with wash, and finally taking up pen and ink to detail physiognomy, facial expression, and dress.



Fig. 96. *Third-Class Carriage*, ca. 1865 (M. 303). Black chalk, pen and ink, wash, watercolor, and conté crayon, heightened with white, 230 × 330 mm (9¼ × 13 in.). Winterthur, Oskar Reinhart Collection



52

Omnibus, ca. 1866–68

Charcoal, wash, pen and ink, watercolor
Wove paper: 248 × 334 mm (9¾ × 13⅛ in.)
Unsigned
Private Collection

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 125; Paris 1901,
no. 204; London 1961, no. 192

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 290

Although the double-decker buses of Daumier's day had seats outside on the roof, places inside the horse-drawn car remained at a premium (there were only fifteen), and passengers squeezed in wherever they could. Like train travel, bus travel often made for strange seat-fellows, as Daumier observed in his earliest lithograph of an omnibus, dated 1839 (D. 566), in which a prim young woman finds herself sandwiched between a drunk and a butcher. His many pictorial essays on the inconveniences of public transport often dwelt on the trying presence of oversize or

drowsy passengers, sometimes both, as in the *Omnibus* (M. 294), which was purchased from Daumier by George A. Lucas in 1864 for Baltimore Street Car Company investor William Walters (see cat. nos. 48–50).

This later, dramatically backlit sketch for another omnibus scene, is less mocking. The languorous sleeping figure at the left appears also in a charcoal study (M. 108) and is related to napping train travelers in lithographs from 1866 (D. 3519) and 1868 (D. 3661).

53

The Station Waiting Room,
ca. 1865–70

(L'Attente à la gare)

Black chalk, pen and ink

Laid paper: 252 × 290 mm (9 ¹⁵/₁₆ × 11 ³/₈ in.)

Initialed in ink, lower right: *h.D.*

Switzerland, Private Collection

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 186

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 308

54

The Wayside Railway Station,
ca. 1865–70

(L'Attente à la gare)

Black chalk, wash, conté crayon, watercolor,
and gouache

Wove paper: 280 × 340 mm (11 × 13 ³/₈ in.)

Signed in conté crayon, lower right: *h. Daumier*

London, Victoria and Albert Museum,

Ionides Collection (119)

EXHIBITION: Paris 1878, no. 204

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 309





54

Daumier managed to ring new changes on the railway-travel theme by perpetually assigning his stock players new places and parts. His old folks, middle-aged people, and the young might be set together in a station waiting room to enact quietly humorous, anecdotal scenes like the one pictured in this watercolor, which parallels the behavior of a dog and a child, both of whom expect rewards for their patience.

In his preliminary study (cat. no. 53), Daumier rounded out his characters with

pen and ink, developing particularly the expressions of the woman seated passively at right and the cunning little boy who sidles up to her. The artist's scratchy and somewhat fumbling handwork reveals the private side of his creative process, which was sacrificed for the sake of formality in the finished product. But the light-bathed, open-air watercolor shows how far Daumier had progressed in the direction of Impressionism and suggests his anticipation of the spare, flattened designs of the Nabis.



55

Experiments in Light

MARGRET STUFFMANN

The watercolors and drawings grouped under this heading date from roughly 1858 to the late 1860s and are either “night pieces” or depictions of scenes and landscapes in the style of the early Impressionists. Both types of works attest to the fundamental reorientation Daumier felt obliged to undertake as a result of a serious illness in 1858 and his separation from the journal *Le Charivari* between 1860 and 1863. His experiments in new directions are important both in terms of art history and for their contemporary relevance. It is instructive to see what he borrowed from earlier art as well as what he contributed to the art of the day.

With the advent of naturalism and realism, the artists of Paris took new interest in the Netherlandish painters of the seventeenth century, especially Rembrandt. The increased interest in Rembrandt encompassed the whole of that artist’s work; the Louvre managed to acquire important paintings like the *Butchered Ox* in 1857 (fig. 100) and *Bathsheba* in 1869, and connoisseurs were actively collecting his drawings. In view of their greater availability, Rembrandt’s etchings were also frequently discussed among this generation of artists.

Some of Daumier’s closest associates played a part in Rembrandt’s rediscovery. Charles Blanc, an early supporter of Daumier and the founder of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*,



Fig. 97. Charles-François Daubigny, *The Search for an Inn*, 1861. Etching, 105 × 158 mm (4 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Theodore de Witt, 1923

devoted a long article to Rembrandt in the first volume of that journal in 1859 and was even then at work on the illustrated catalogue raisonné of Rembrandt prints that he published in 1873. What moved him and his contemporaries—Daumier among them—was not so much Rembrandt’s artistic achievements in themselves as what his art conveyed about the human condition.

One result of the new fascination in Parisian art circles with the technique of etching (a phenomenon perceptively discussed by Baudelaire, among others) was the founding in 1862 of the Société des Aquafortistes. As a result of photography’s invention and rapid evolution, the society aimed both to promote traditional printmaking and to stimulate awareness of the particular artistic possibilities of the etching medium. At just this time, Daumier’s close friends Millet and Daubigny were producing etchings of night scenes with candles or lamplight that are definitely indebted to Rembrandt but are nevertheless fully modern works of art (figs. 97, 98). These, like the works of Daumier, are distinguished from their seventeenth-century prototypes in that the light in them serves to evoke a mood rather than functioning as a spiritual force. They present concrete realities rather than spiritual ideals. Daumier, for example, is quite content to depict a man lighting his pipe, a candle held above a person’s head, or a sparkling fireplace fire.

Apropos the theme of light, Adhémar has pointed quite convincingly to a possible connection with the early photographer Nadar, who by the close of the 1850s was already lighting his portraits by means of banks of candles placed to the side, and who in 1861 took photographs of Paris’s subterranean canals and catacombs with the help of artificial light.¹ Daumier was well acquainted with Nadar, and in 1862 he devoted to him the well-known lithograph *Nadar élevant la photographie à la hauteur de l’Art* (D. 3248). It is altogether instructive



Fig. 98. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Flight into Egypt: A Night Piece*, 1651. Etching, 127 × 110 mm (5 × 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Felix M. Warburg and his Family, 1941

to study Daumier’s relationship to the work and the vision of this man who possessed an artist’s sensibility and at the same time a modern fascination with newly developing techniques.

As a draughtsman, the virtuoso lithographer Daumier had first worked with lithographic crayon and chalk, to describe full volumes. Later, perhaps influenced by the work of Rembrandt, he came to prefer pen and ink, producing subtly articulated drawings with a tonal range reminiscent of Rembrandt etchings. At the very moment when he deliberately set out to produce “art,” he thus acquired a new drawing style. He is quoted as having insisted in another context that “il faut être de son temps,” and clearly he meant this as an artist as well, for he was quick to adopt the new techniques and media being developed.

On the other hand, Daumier was able to draw on his experience as a lithographer in his new style of drawing and his watercolors. He had already anticipated much of what was of greatest interest to the first

generation of Impressionists, for his earlier work was filled with unusual lighting and spatial effects. In works like *Two Good Friends* or *A Man Reading in a Garden* (cat. nos. 63, 64), in which he handled his chalk and washes in a way quite reminiscent of his lithographs, one can see how with well-tested techniques, Daumier, despite his age, was able to meet the new artistic demands and in the process influence younger painters like Manet.

1. Nigel Gosling, *Nadar: Photograph berühmter Zeitgenossen* (Munich, 1977), p. 36.



Fig. 99. Edgar Degas, *Young Woman with Field Glasses*, 1866. Essence on pink paper, 280 × 227 mm (11 × 9 in.). London, British Museum

The Man with the Opera Glasses

(L'Homme à la lorgnette)

Watercolor and gouache, conté crayon

Wove paper: 130 × 105 mm (5 1/8 × 4 1/8 in.)

Unsigned

Geneva, Galerie Jan Krugier

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 487

Daumier produced a number of drawings and prints portraying Parisian theatergoers, especially in the decade between 1855 and 1865. This example is striking in that the artist has not bothered to record the gentleman's facial features. Instead, he concentrated on his highly expressive pose as sculpted by the light from below.

Degas was also fond of depicting people looking through opera glasses or telescopes (fig. 99). A similar spectator—though without opera glasses—can be seen at the edge of Daumier's 1856 lithograph *En contemplation devant le vaisseau de l'Opéra* (D. 2806).

The Butcher

(Le Boucher)

Charcoal, gray wash, and conté crayon

Wove paper: 330 × 220 mm (13 × 8⁵/₈ in.)Signed in ink, lower left: *h D*

New York, José Mugrabi Collections

BIBLIOGRAPHY: not in *Maison*; Hôtel Drouot, Paris, sale cat., December 10, 1981*The Butcher*

(Le Boucher)

Watercolor, gouache, pen and ink, and white chalk

Wove paper: 300 × 233 mm (11¹/₁₆ × 9¹/₈ in.)Signed with conté crayon, lower left: *h.D.*

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Alpheus Hyatt Fund (1927.202)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 111; Paris 1901, no. 129

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison* 262; Provost, p. 214;

Laughton 1991, pp. 109–10, illus. p. 110

These two depictions of a butcher cutting open a pig with his cleaver are not simple genre scenes. They relate more or less to specific historical events.

In the 1850s there was considerable debate in Paris about the appalling conditions of the city's butcher shops. The issue was of compelling interest to the Parisian populace because of the danger of contagion. Finally, in February 1858, new regulations were imposed. Daumier chose to comment on the

state of affairs in a series of twelve lithographs entitled *Messieurs les Bouchers* (D. 3010–3021), published between November 1857 and March 1858. In these more descriptive prints he depicted a number of abuses, portraying the butchers as villains. In his drawings and watercolors, however, his treatment of the trade is quite different, and he seems to have developed a more tolerant view. In these works the simplified, monumental forms lend a sense of dignity and a timeless calm to his pictures of men engaged in this brutal trade. Most important artistically is his manipulation of light. He managed to concentrate our gaze by producing a chiaroscuro effect in which the action takes on something of the quality of a ritual.

It is worth noting that only shortly before, in 1857, Rembrandt's painting the *Butchered Ox* (fig. 100) had been acquired by the Louvre. The solitary figure of the meatcutter continued to occupy Daumier, for among other different versions, he produced a variant of the motif shown here on the verso of a portrayal of lawyers (cat. no. 91 and fig. 28). The above-mentioned date of 1858 and similarities in style between the *Butcher* (cat. no. 56) and *The Sideshow* (cat. no. 114) lead us to assume that the two present works were produced sometime in the early 1860s.



56



Fig. 100. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Butchered Ox*, 1655. Oil on wood, 94 × 68 cm (37 × 26¾ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre



Two Women with a Child

(Deux Femmes et un enfant)

Brushwork in brown and black wash, white chalk, and pen and ink

Wove paper: 210 × 180 mm (8¼ × 7⅛ in.)

Signed lower right: *h.D.*

Los Angeles, The Armand Hammer Daumier and Contemporaries Collection, The Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center (4608)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 123; Paris 1901, no. 160

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison 691; Honoré Daumier, 1808–1879: The Armand Hammer Daumier Collection*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 1982), no. 188



This drawing, a scene altogether unique in the work of Daumier, reveals in a number of ways how greatly the artist was influenced by the etchings of Rembrandt during the 1850s and 1860s. Though there does not appear to be a specific prototype by Rembrandt for this work, his style is unmistakable. The figures are portrayed with such human warmth that one only notes on second glance that this is in fact an interpretation of a religious subject. Consider as well the way the figures emerge out of the darkness, and note the dense structure of the drawing. Though working with alternating layers of wash, white chalk, and a fine-nibbed pen, Daumier is here imitating Rembrandt the etcher more than Rembrandt the draughtsman.



59

Two Drinkers

(Deux Buveurs)

Watercolor and pen and ink

Wove paper: 175 × 240 mm (6⁷/₈ × 9¹/₂ in.)

Signed at the bottom in the center: *h.D.*

Verso: *Several Studies*

Chalk, wash, pen and ink

Private Collection

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 141; Paris 1901,
no. 143

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 315 (verso undescribed)

This could almost be an ordinary genre scene. Two men sit across a table from each other, smoking over a glass of wine. But there is more to this work. One has the sense of an almost mysterious intimacy, of a strange condition somewhere between the momentary and the timeless that reminds one of Cézanne's *Card Players* from 1890–92 (fig. 101). The intensity of feeling in this work and its quite unusual manipulation of light suggest that it was created in about 1860, when Daumier was struggling to rethink his situation as an artist.



Fig. 101. Paul Cézanne, *Card Players*, 1890–92.
Oil on canvas, 45 × 57 cm (17³/₄ × 22⁷/₁₆ in.).
Paris, Musée d'Orsay

Hunters by the Fire

(Chasseurs se chauffant)

Pen and ink, gray wash, watercolor, gouache, and conté crayon

Wove paper: 250 × 350 mm (9⁷/₈ × 13³/₄ in.)

Signed lower right: *h. Daumier*

U.S.A., Private Collection

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 278; Paris 1934, no. 83; Philadelphia 1937, no. 29

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 322; Provost, p. 215; Sotheby's, London, sale cat., December 3, 1991, lot 5

It is clear that Daumier worked out his more ambitious watercolors quite carefully in advance. For the present work, which just recently reappeared on the art market, we know of both a sketchy preparatory drawing (M. 322) and a small study of the motif of the man lighting his pipe (M. 313).

As a lithographer, Daumier dealt with the subject of hunting a number of times between 1853 and 1865, and the present watercolor clearly borrows from two of those prints, one from 1853 (D. 2436) with the detail of the dog lying in front of the fire, the other from 1859 (D. 3215).

One notes that in his watercolor Daumier has removed all hint of caricature. For that matter, there is little left of the whole context of hunting. What engages him here is the cozy atmosphere and lively conversation by the fire. There is some disagreement about the dating of this work. Maison assumes the period 1860–65, Adhémar argues for 1856–60, and Laughton recently suggested the first half of the 1850s. In view of its sure execution and similarities in its composition to the *Visitors in an Artist's Studio* (cat. no. 74), we are inclined to ascribe the work to the 1860s.





61

A Good Vintage

(La Fine Bouteille)

Watercolor, conté crayon, and pen and ink
Laid paper: 221 × 293 mm (8¾ × 11½ in.)
Signed with white ink, lower right: *h. Daumier*
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (229/1979)

EXHIBITION: Paris 1878, no. 156

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 328; Claude Roy, *Daumier, dessins* (Geneva, 1971), p. 46; Per Bjurström, *French Drawings—Nineteenth Century*, Nationalmuseum (Stockholm, 1986), no. 1383

There appears to be a certain contradiction in this watercolor between the modest, almost rustic setting and the highly dramatic effect of candlelight. The main figure, playing host, has apparently selected a couple of bottles of good wine to share with his three friends. He reappears in an attitude like that of an actor before the footlights. The work is an homage to the conviviality that comes from drinking wine, an indulgence that Daumier valued highly.

In both style and execution, this watercolor is closely related to the *Hunters by the Fire* (cat. no. 60), and accordingly it too is difficult to date. Its use of light is comparable to that of the 1856 lithograph *Floraïson du Cactus—Grandiflorus* (D. 2770), and it may be that it was produced at about that same time. In form and subject matter it also recalls the lithograph *Dire qu'il y a des gens qui boivent de l'absinthe* from 1864 (fig. 102), and to our mind these similarities argue for a later dating.



Fig. 102. *Dire qu'il y a des gens qui boivent de l'absinthe . . .* Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, January 30, 1864 (D. 3357). 245 × 214 mm (9⅞ × 8½ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1962



63

Two Good Friends

(Les Bons Amis)

Watercolor over black chalk, pen and ink,
and conté crayon

Laid paper: 235 × 470 mm (9¼ × 18½ in.)

Signed in pen and ink, lower right: *h. Daumier*

Baltimore, The George A. Lucas Collection of the
Maryland Institute, College of Art, on indefinite
loan to The Baltimore Museum of Art (L.3353.18684)

EXHIBITIONS: Philadelphia 1937, no. 27; London
1961, no. 126

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 319; Passeron 1986, illus.
p. 273; Provost, p. 215

The relaxed expressions of the two main figures and the sense of harmony they so clearly feel with each other and their surroundings set this work apart from the previous ones. One notes that the man on the right strongly resembles Daumier himself, and it may be that this scene contains an element of self-identification.

All that happens here is that the two men clink their wineglasses. Though very different physical types—as usual Daumier presents us with highly contrasting faces—they appear to understand each other perfectly without saying a word. This is clear not only from their looks and their expressions but also from the harmony of the whole composition. Its forms, its light, and its colors are exquisitely attuned. Daumier has chosen to present a limited number of pictorial elements, but thanks to the manner in which he illuminates them and the rhythmic flow of the lines used to describe them, they appear to relate to each other in the subtlest of ways and to take on a life of their own. Daumier here achieves a sureness of form comparable to that of the old masters. Yet he has created something altogether new for his time, for he has given the scene the atmosphere and light that the younger Impressionists called for.

The work shares something of the style and subject matter of two specific prints by Daumier, namely the lithograph *Je n'ai jamais tant ri qu'à l'enterrement de la fille à Bourdin* from 1862 (fig. 103) and *Voyons, faut pas être injuste* from 1864 (D. 3287). Thus it would seem that he created it either during these same years or soon afterward.

62

The Drinkers

(Les Buveurs)

Pencil, watercolor, conté crayon, and pen and ink
Laid paper: 237 × 266 mm (9⅜ × 10½ in.)

Signed with pen and ink, upper left: *h. Daumier*
Williamstown, Massachusetts, The Sterling and
Francine Clark Art Institute (1504 a)

EXHIBITION: Paris 1901, no. 144

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 329; Passeron 1986, illus.
p. 274; Provost, p. 215

Daumier treated the subject of drinking with great frequency in his prints, depicting it as a social custom, a special pleasure, or a vice. But only in his watercolors did he portray drinkers singing. In addition to the work shown here there is a second, expanded version (M. 330) that recently reappeared on the art market.

Daumier applied his skill at lighting to this scene of a jovial evening in a wine cellar or a tavern in such a way that the figures—they appear to be tradesmen or laborers—seem especially vivid. With a sure hand he developed each one out of the surrounding space, giving it its own distinct appearance. One also notes how carefully he arranged the quartet so that the two who at the moment are only listening stand at a diagonal to the two who are singing.

This watercolor and the larger version (M. 330), doubtless executed in the early 1860s, can be seen in two ways. On the one hand, Daumier was clearly exploiting the tipsy assembly for its comic value. On the other, it appears that he wished to hold up to the elegant and superficial Parisian society of the Second Empire something of the naturalness and good fellowship enjoyed by the common people.



63



Fig. 103. *Je n'ai jamais tant ri qu'à l'enterrement de la fille à Bourdin. . . .* Lithograph, published in *Le Boulevard*, August 3, 1862 (D. 3250). 267 × 200 mm (10½ × 7⅞ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928

A Man Reading in a Garden

(Le Liseur)

Watercolor over black chalk, with pen and ink, wash, and conté crayon

Wove paper: 338 × 270 mm (13⁵/₁₆ × 10⁵/₈ in.)

Signed in pen and ink, lower left: *h. Daumier*

Verso: Preliminary study in pen and brown ink, gray wash, and conté crayon

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 (29.100.199)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 200; Paris 1934, no. 146; Philadelphia 1937, no. 21

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 361 and 359 (verso); K. E. Maison, "Daumier Studies—I: Preparatory Drawings," *Burlington Magazine* 96 (January 1954), pp. 13–17, illus. p. 16; Jacob Bean, *100 European Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1964), no. 70; Jacob Bean, *Dessins français du Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, de David à Picasso*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1973), no. 21, illus. p. 27; Passeron 1986, illus. p. 247; Provost, p. 215; Laughton 1991, pp. 134–36, illus. p. 135

Though it may not be true that this is a portrait of Daumier's friend Corot, as was once thought, and though its color has faded somewhat, this is still one of Daumier's most extraordinary works on paper. It is so transparent and full of light, so secure in its formal arrangement of only a limited number of elements that it would seem that during this period—namely the 1860s—Daumier found the medium of watercolor more congenial than that of painting. Here again one notes a parallel to work by Cézanne. What is most striking in this watercolor is the balance between the volumes and the surrounding space, between utter relaxation and intense concentration on the part of the central figure. The study of the verso confirms the careful preparation of this watercolor (fig. 104). The sense of solitude and contemplation echoes that of *The Connoisseur* (cat. no. 77) and *The Painter in His Studio* (cat. no. 76).



64



Fig. 104. *A Man Reading in a Garden* (verso of cat. no. 64). Pen and brown ink, gray wash, and conté crayon, 338 × 270 mm (13⁵/₁₆ × 10⁵/₈ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929

In the Country

(Dans la campagne)

Black chalk, watercolor, and conté crayon

Laid paper: 186 × 134 mm (7 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Dedicated and signed in pen and ink, lower left:

à mon ami Gautier/ h Daumier

Verso: *A Man with a Pushcart*

Charcoal, pen and ink, wash

Private Collection

EXHIBITION: Paris 1901, no. 271

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 711 and 255 (verso)

This watercolor was probably produced in the late 1860s, when Daumier was spending increasing amounts of time at his house in Valmondois. It is dedicated to the Parisian painter Amand Gautier (1825–1894), an artist associated with the Realists whom Daumier may have come to know through his friend François Bonvin.

Of all of Daumier's watercolors, the present work—which is in an unusually fine state of preservation—seems almost astonishingly modern within the context of early Impressionism. Daumier, the inveterate critic of society and politics, the sharp observer of mankind, was here content to portray in an extremely modest format a corner of a summer landscape with the approaching figure



Fig. 105. *A Man with a Pushcart* (verso of cat. no. 65). Private Collection



of a gardener or farmer. He captured light and shade, the soil and the air, and a gentle gust of wind in the trees with great immediacy. His fresh, luscious colors and the combination of lightness and substance in his forms recall the early watercolors of Cézanne, which were also produced during 1865–70.¹

The drawing on the reverse, which shows the same man, slightly larger, with a wheel-

barrow (fig. 105), seems to indicate that Daumier was sitting right there attempting to capture in drawing and watercolor what he saw before him. Thus it appears that this late work is an example of plein-air painting, just then in vogue.

1. John Rewald, *Paul Cézanne: The Watercolors* (Boston, 1983), nos. 4–13.



66

Landscape by Moonlight

(Paysage au clair de la lune)

Charcoal

Laid paper: 209 × 302 mm (8¼ × 11⅞ in.)

Unsigned

Verso: *Studies for a Fiddler and a Rider*

Pen and ink over charcoal

Private Collection, courtesy Galerie Schmit, Paris

EXHIBITION: Paris 1934, no. 180

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 740 and 275 (verso);

Provost, p. 217; Laughton 1991, p. 134



67

Landscape with a Large Tree

(Paysage au grand arbre)

Pen and ink, gray wash

Laid paper: 298 × 419 mm (11¾ × 16½ in.)

Unsigned

Private Collection, courtesy Galerie Schmit, Paris

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1934, no. 179; London 1961, no. 119; Marseille 1979, no. 88

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 739; Provost, p. 217

As an artist, Daumier concentrated primarily on people, their appearance and their behavior. Only rarely did he apply himself to landscape. We have included in this section two very different examples of his work in that genre as they both are so clearly marked by his fascination with light. We can only assume that Daumier was encouraged to experiment with landscape by his friends from the Barbizon school, especially J. F. Millet and T. Rousseau. The *Landscape by Moonlight* seems particularly influenced by the Barbizon style, while the unerring lines and generous space of *Landscape with a Large Tree* are all due to Daumier.

The two works were probably produced at different times. Because of its particularly close association with Millet, we must assume that the first dates from the mid or late 1850s, while the second seems closer to *In the Country* (cat. no. 65) from the late 1860s. The two are also quite different in their concept of nature. In many respects the twilight solitude of the *Landscape by Moonlight* continues to evoke the romantic era. There are very similar pastels by Delacroix. The *Landscape with a Large Tree*, however, seems to record an actual experience, anticipating the experiments of Impressionism.

In Contemplation

(En contemplation)

Pen and ink, gray wash

Laid paper: 209 × 284 mm (8¼ × 11⅞ in.)

Signed in ink, lower right: *h.D.*

Private Collection

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 118; Paris 1901, no. 135; Marseille 1979, no. 87

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 718; Provost, p. 217; Laughton 1991, p. 117, illus. p. 116

With this portrayal of a bourgeois couple seated on the bank of a river and gazing out across the landscape, Daumier took up in drawing a subject that had occupied him much earlier as a printmaker. There are direct parallels between this work and the wood engraving *Le Rêve des Parisiens* (fig. 106) illustrating *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, published in 1840–42, and also the 1858 lithograph *Les Plaisirs de la villégiature* (D. 3049). In the prints, Daumier was concerned to show how bourgeois married couples accustomed to life in the city tend to become disoriented and estranged in the face of nature.

In this drawing, however, there is still a sense of easy intimacy between man and

wife, despite the distance that separates them. This is underscored by the manner in which the figures are tied into the gentle landscape with sure and delicate strokes of the pen, by the transparent wash, and by the luminous paper ground. Unlike the prints, the drawing has no hint of cynicism but concentrates instead on a sense of contemplation and harmony. Because of this, and also because of the way the artist handled the light and the atmosphere, it would appear that the drawing was produced much later, certainly in the 1860s. The lithograph *Paysagistes au travail* (D. 3251) from 1862 tends to confirm such a dating, for its landscape—though reversed—and overall mood are very similar.



Fig. 106. *Le Rêve des Parisiens*. Wood engraving, published in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, L. Curmer, Paris, 1840–42 (Bouvy 371). 55 × 120 mm (2¼ × 4¾ in.)



Connoisseurs

MARTIN SONNABEND

In his lithographs and wood engravings, Daumier used the motif of people looking at art almost exclusively in connection with the annual Salon. His reporting on that event continued a French tradition begun before the eighteenth century and associated with names like Gabriel de Saint-Aubin or Hubert Robert. Like them, he tended to treat that yearly encounter of artworks and viewers primarily as a public event (fig. 107).¹ However, in his drawings on this theme, Daumier concentrated on the private sphere, portraying the personal responses by various types of viewers to works of art.

Daumier created a virtual microcosm of the salons of art collectors, artists' studios, and auction-house showrooms. His drawings of them are somewhat reminiscent of paintings of private art galleries from the baroque period, but unlike those earlier works they are by no means intended as pictorial catalogues of specific collections or portraits of specific art circles. For the most part, the paintings and sculptures included in Daumier's drawings cannot be identified; they are simply meant to lend an air of authenticity, representing particular types or genres. They do not serve to glorify their owners, as baroque paintings of this sort were intended to do. Their sole function is

to attract attention to the process of perception. Daumier's microcosm is an inner world, not an external one. These fictional artworks turn his spaces into rooms for quiet contemplation.

Daumier's portrayals of art enthusiasts are not simple genre studies. The artist was concerned with presenting in pictorial form a variety of possible responses to art. That he should have returned to the subject again and again is also a reflection of his own consciousness as an artist. It seems that he was always very concerned about the solitude imposed on the artist and his difficulty in communicating with the world around him. We sense something of his own loneliness in *The Artist in His Studio* (cat. no. 76), and in his *A Painter's Studio* (cat. no. 75) he portrays several ideal companions, men who appreciate his work and can talk with him about it. Understandably enough, the majority of the drawings of connoisseurs appear to have been created during the 1860s, the period in which Daumier was most troubled about his role as an artist, as Klaus Herding points out in his essay (see p. 50).

1. See *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking 1715–1814*, exh. cat., Baltimore Museum of Art and Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Baltimore and Minneapolis, 1985), no. 33.



Fig. 107. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, *View of the Salon Exhibition at the Louvre in 1753*. Etching, 145 × 176 mm (5¾ × 6⅞ in.)

The Art Auction

(La Vente de tableaux)

Chalk, gray wash, pen and ink, and conté crayon

Laid paper: 117 × 95 mm (4 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Signed in pen and brown ink, lower left: *h D*

Bern, E. W. Kornfeld Collection

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 157

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 392; Provost, p. 215; *Von Goya bis Tinguely: Aquarelle und Zeichnungen aus einer Privatsammlung*, exh. cat., Kunstmuseum (Bern, 1989), no. 4

This small-format sketch of an auction-room scene is a preliminary design for the wood engraving *The Expert*, an illustration Daumier produced for an essay by his friend Champfleury on the auction house, "Hôtel des Commissaires-priseurs," published in *Le Monde illustré* in March 1863 (fig. 108; see also Bouvy 922). Daumier often used this small format when working out his compositions, enlarging them in their final form (see also cat. no. 73). At this stage he was not so much concerned with details as with the structure of the design and the effectiveness of its figures. Though only a sketch, the drawing captures the excitement of the auction room more successfully than does the finished wood engraving.



69



Fig. 108. *The Auction House: The Expert*. Wood engraving, published in *Le Monde illustré*, March 7, 1863 (Bouvy 939). 226 × 161 mm (9 × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920



Art Lovers

(Les Amateurs de peinture)

Charcoal, watercolor, and conté crayon

Laid paper: 262 × 193 mm (10³/₁₆ × 7⁷/₈ in.)

Signed lower left: *h.D.*

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Dudley P. Allen Fund
(27.208)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 113; Paris 1901, no. 131; Paris 1934, no. 88; Philadelphia 1937, no. 19

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 391; Provost, p. 215

Like the preceding drawing (cat. no. 69), this watercolor is related to the illustrations Daumier produced for Champfleury's article on the "Hôtel des Commissaires-priseurs." It is a variant of the wood engraving that accompanied the installment published in *Le Monde illustré* on April 18, 1863 (fig. 109). Daumier arranged his three main figures so that they seem to share a single body, yet present three different responses to the work of art before them. The result is a delightful interplay of unity and variety. The reactions of these viewers are perfectly clear from their postures alone; no facial expressions or explanatory details are really necessary. Daumier could just as well have done without any indication of a specific setting, for we would still recognize immediately what the three gentlemen are doing.



Fig. 109. *The Auction House: The Connoisseur*. Wood engraving, published in *Le Monde illustré*, April 18, 1863 (Bouvy 940). 225 × 160 mm (8⁷/₈ × 6³/₈ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920



The Three Connoisseurs

(Les Amateurs de tableaux)

Pen and black ink, gray and brown wash over traces of charcoal

Wove paper: 493 × 392 mm (19³/₈ × 15³/₈ in.)

Watermark: J. WHATMAN 1869

Unsigned

The Art Institute of Chicago,

Gift of Mrs. Helen Regenstein (1968.1)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 390a; *Französische Zeichnungen aus dem Art Institute Chicago*, exh. cat., Städtische Galerie im Städtischen Kunstinstitut (Frankfurt am Main, 1977), no. 40; Provost, p. 215

Thanks to the watermark, we are able to date this drawing to roughly 1869. Thus it may well be a late repetition of the motif of a very similar oil painting that Maison dates about 1858–62 (M. I–133). The scene is not unlike the one in the preceding watercolor (cat. no. 70), but here the way the figures are drawn suggests that the gentlemen are discussing their impressions. In the preceding work they are so absorbed in what they are looking at that they bend forward; now they have straightened back up as though they are collecting their thoughts. The transparent space, the way the light models the figures, and the inner dynamism that charges this seemingly peaceful scene with tension are all typical of Daumier's late drawings.



72

Print Lovers

(Les Amateurs d'estampes)

Chalk, watercolor, pen and ink

Wove paper: 350 × 320 mm (13³/₄ × 12⁵/₈ in.)

Signed with conté crayon, lower right: *h. Daumier*

London, Victoria and Albert Museum,

Ionides Collection (118)

EXHIBITION: Paris 1878, no. 205

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 379; Provost, p. 215

Daumier's drawings on the subject of people responding to art tend to be set in private spaces rather than public ones, in the salons of collectors or in the studios of the artists themselves. This watercolor of two jovial gentlemen poring over a portfolio of prints or drawings is a further refinement of a drawing in the Louvre (M. 387), which Adhémar and Maison plausibly date about 1863. This watercolor was probably created

several years later. Its diagonal lighting and the angles and planes of its architecture serve to situate the figures in space more effectively, and the whole conception is here less anecdotal. In this more highly charged atmosphere, even subsidiary details—the small sculpture or the illuminated painting in the background—take on added importance in the eye of the viewer.

In a Painter's Studio

(Dans l'atelier d'un peintre)

Chalk, wash, and white gouache
 Laid paper: 85 × 98 mm (3⅜ × 3⅞ in.)
 Signed in pencil, lower right: *h.D.*
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts,
 William P. Babcock Bequest (1900.511)
 EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 149
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 381



73

Visitors in an Artist's Studio

(Visiteurs dans l'atelier d'un peintre)

Pen and ink, wash, watercolor, and gouache
 Wove paper: 360 × 451 mm (13⅓ × 17¾ in.)
 Signed lower left: *h. Daumier*
 Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of
 Mrs. William R. Miller in memory of her husband
 (951.1045)

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 151
 BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 384

Maison's identification of this large watercolor from Montreal as the work Daumier exhibited at the 1869 Salon under the title *Amateurs dans un atelier* is doubtful, inasmuch as, according to information given by the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, this drawing was already in Canada by 1868, when it was included in an exhibition there. It is a revised and highly finished version of the Boston sketch (cat. no. 73); Maison also lists other preliminary drawings. The drawing takes up elements of an earlier version of the same subject, a watercolor in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (M. 385) based on a lithograph from 1862 (not 1864, as Maison suggests). Instead of showing the artist prominently in the foreground Daumier depicted him now in the shadows in the background. The wealthy collectors, surrounded by seemingly more knowledgeable advisors, now appear at center stage, gazing pretentiously at the art in question.

Pictorial logic is given in the sense that the space of the two artists in the background is occupied by works of art in a rather distinctive and sensitive way, while middle and foreground show a physical reality expressed in dense volumes. Daumier doubtless identified with the spiritual mood of the background, even suggesting the pictorial scene and the aesthetic character of his own world. He was able to visualize this thoughtful meaning by a masterful handling of the watercolor, a medium perfectly suited to his efforts to create the effect of sculptural, spatial, and painterly appearance. In this way he achieved a sophisticated program, connected usually with painting, in the intimate medium of watercolor.





75

A Painter's Studio

(Un Atelier de peintre)

Stumped charcoal, pen and ink, and wash
Laid paper: 311 × 460 mm (12¼ × 18⅞ in.)

Signed lower left: *h. Daumier*

New York, José Mugrabi Collections

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 101; Paris 1901,
no. 489

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison* 386; Sotheby's, New York,
sale cat., November 17, 1986, no. 32

This very late drawing—possibly from the late 1860s or early 1870s—combines the motif of the *Print Lovers* (see cat. no. 72)¹ with that of the visit to the artist's studio. The striking feature of this work—and what reveals it to be a late work—is Daumier's omission of all minor descriptive details. He limited himself to the figures, softly modeled by light falling on them at an angle, and managed to suggest how engrossed they are in their study without actually showing the artwork itself. The atmosphere created in

this monochrome drawing, the warmth of its light, the way time seems suspended—all of these make it clear that the two visitors are not only deeply absorbed, but also grateful for the chance to be together with the artist and share their ideas. The painter's studio could just as well be the library of a collector, for what matters is that the artist has found his ideal audience.

1. See also the watercolor *Two Print Collectors* in the Oskar Reinhart Collection, Winterthur (M. 376).

The Artist in His Studio

(L'Artiste en face de son oeuvre)

Pen and ink, wash

Wove paper: 380 × 290 mm (15 × 11³/₁₆ in.)

Unsigned

Private Collection, courtesy Galerie Schmit, Paris

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 126; Paris 1901, no. 183; Paris 1934, no. 85

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 367; Provost, p. 215; Klaus Herding, "Daumier critique des temps modernes: Recherches sur l' 'Histoire Ancienne,'" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 113 (January 1989), pp. 29–44

This drawing, like the following watercolor (cat. no. 77), once belonged to Daumier's friend the painter Jules Dupré. In both works we find a lone figure absorbed in the study of art; in this case it is the artist himself. The drawing still has traces of a square grid used by Daumier to enlarge the composition when transferring it onto canvas. Maison dates an unfinished painting of this same motif (M. I–167), also with a visible grid, to about 1863–67. Thus the present drawing would also appear to date from the mid-1860s.

Daumier follows tradition by portraying his artist in the attitude of a melancholic. But beyond that, his figure expresses the particular isolation felt by the nineteenth-century artist as a social outsider. Moreover, Klaus Herding (see above, p. 51) suspects that this artist is trying to decide whether to continue producing large-scale historical paintings in the classical mode or to experiment in the modern genre.



The Connoisseur

(Un Amateur)

Pen and ink, wash, watercolor, conté crayon, and gouache over black chalk

Wove paper: 438 × 355 mm (17¼ × 14 in.)

Signed in ink, lower left: *h. Daumier*

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 (29.100.200)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 154; Paris 1934, no. 90; Philadelphia 1937, no. 22

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 370; Jacob Bean, *100 European Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1964), no. 71; Linda Boyer Gillies, "European Drawings in the Havemeyer Collection," *Connoisseur* 172, no. 693 (November 1969), pp. 148–55; Jacob Bean, *Dessins français du Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, de David à Picasso*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1973), no. 20, illus. 26; Provost, p. 215; Laughton 1991, p. 180, illus. p. 179

This watercolor presents a single collector studying a work of art. The work originally belonged to the landscape painter Jules Dupré, a close friend of Daumier's (as did *The Artist in His Studio*, cat. no. 76). A preliminary study for this work, in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen in Rotterdam (fig. 110), carries a handwritten dedication to another of Daumier's friends, the actor Alfred Baron, known as Cléophas. Since this stage name was only adopted by the latter in 1857,¹ it would appear that the work dates

from about 1860 or even later. In any case, the fact that Daumier presented these works to the friends that he did would indicate that he may often have discussed with them the theme of one's isolation vis-à-vis the work of art.

The statuette of the Venus de Milo on the table appears to have come suddenly to life (compare the preliminary study, cat. no. 17; see also fig. 13). The goddess, bathed in light, has not only captivated the collector but also attracted the gaze of both the male bust at the right edge of the picture and the bearded gentleman in the oval painting on the wall. The motif of the contemplation of art thus takes on a dreamlike quality.

This strange atmosphere, in which objects appear to come to life, is not so much a response to the idea of the Pygmalion myth as a reflection of the Romantics' interest in the imagination. There is a direct connection between the New York watercolor and the early brush drawing, which was executed as a study for a lithograph in the series *L'Imagination* (figs. 11, 12). The same psychology is at work in both, though it is considerably subtler and more highly developed in the late watercolor.

1. Jean Cherpin, *Daumier et le théâtre* (Paris, 1978), p. 94.



Fig. 110. *The Connoisseur* (M. 369). Black chalk, pen and ink, charcoal, and gray wash, 535 × 417 mm (21⅛ × 16½ in.). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



Lawyers and the Courts

COLTA IVES

Lawcourts, which were the centers of great influence and authority in nineteenth-century France, aroused the attention of Daumier to an exceptional degree. In fact, no other artist has ever been quite so fascinated by the legal profession or has proclaimed its endemic weaknesses so vividly. It was undoubtedly Daumier's liberal outlook and his profound distaste for the abuse of power that prompted him to examine the actions and motivations of lawyers and judges. With the zealous instincts of a playwright's son, he staged dramatic portrayals of the sins of vanity, sloth, deception, and greed against a backdrop of the halls of justice.

Daumier knew the judicial business well, from the time of his youth, for his father had turned to the courts to settle financial affairs (without much success), and the artist's first job was that of errand boy for a bailiff. In 1831 he took up residence with his parents in the Rue de la Barillerie, just opposite the Palais de Justice, and from then on he maintained an apartment and studio in the same neighborhood, almost to the end of his life.

In 1831, when he was only twenty-three, Daumier was himself brought to trial for contemptuously caricaturing King Louis-Philippe. Champfleury remembered the artist as "timide" at the hearing, where he was fined and condemned to six months in prison.¹ The same day, in a second audience, occasioned by a print held offensive to the heir to the throne and Marshal Soult, Daumier was acquitted.² Judging from his pictorial memoir, the lithograph *Souvenir de Sainte-Pélagie* (1834), and a letter he wrote from prison to his friend Philippe-Auguste Jeanron, his jail term (from late August 1832 until February 1833) engendered no particular rancor, although this first-hand encounter with the judicial system undoubtedly left its mark.

In the years immediately following, from 1833 to 1836, Daumier became a frequent visitor to the courts. His presence at proceedings held at the Palais de Justice de

Paris, the Palais de Justice de Versailles, and the Haute-Cour de Justice au Luxembourg is documented in portraits of insurgents, murderers, attempted assassins, and a rapist, which he published in *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari*, and which were authoritatively captioned: "dessiné à la cour des Pairs par Daumier" or "à l'audience."³ But the realistic reports he made from his seat in the gallery are stiffly perfunctory; it was only when the artist took to liberally caricaturing famous judiciaries that he hit his stride, beginning with his comic portraits of the attorneys general Dupin the elder and Persil.⁴

As it happened, the farther Daumier distanced himself from the judicial bench, the more his vision cleared. His depictions of lawyers and court drama grew stronger in design and larger in meaning as he progressed from detailing specific personages and events to presenting simpler, generalized images of one or two figures symbolic of the profession and its practices. By the time the thirty-ninth lithograph had been published in his tirelessly inventive series *Les Gens de Justice* (1845–48; D. 1337–1377), Daumier had established the full repertory of personalities, situations, and actions that was to be his stock-in-trade for the next twenty years: lawyers marching together in locked step, or bent toward one another, conspiring; the defense attorney shrugging carelessly or pointing an accusing finger; the self-important judicial high priest descending the courthouse stairs or officiously strolling the shadowy corridors. Daumier need not have set foot in court again (and quite possibly did not) in order to create the nearly two hundred lithographs, paintings, drawings, and watercolors on legal themes that followed.

After two additional suites of prints, *Les Avocats et les plaideurs* (1848–51; D. 2158–2188) and *Physionomies du Palais de Justice* (1852; D. 2303), Daumier's production of lithographs on legal themes slowed. But the fame of his prints was such that a market



Fig. 111. *Je crois vous avoir... prouvé que mon client...* Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, July 6, 1864 (D. 3278). 243 × 212 mm (9 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922

existed for drawings and watercolors which the artist produced for collectors, mainly during the 1860s. The sight of some of these "panathenaic lawyers" struck the Goncourt brothers as they passed by shop windows on the Rue Taitbout.⁵ The remark made in their *Journal* comparing Daumier's promenading robed figures to the ones that parade around classical Greek vases is particularly apt, since both processions appear dignified but are directionless.

Although Daumier acquired a reputation as a scathing critic of lawyers and judges, it should be noted that his satirization of the judiciary system was by no means totally original or unique. During the unprecedented growth of their city in the nineteenth century, Parisians analyzed and joked about their checkered array of tradespeople and professionals. Put into songs, poems, and picture books were urban portraits which helped a self-conscious populace to grasp its sprawling diversity. Daumier contributed

illustrations and vignettes to several publications which lambasted lawyers along with any other certifiable group within easy reach, including musicians and bakers, portrait painters and industrialists, street sweepers, schoolboys, and lottery players. He designed the title page for J. F. Destigny's *Némésis incorruptible. Satire de mœurs* (1838), with its lengthy satire of lawyers who were placed on a par with "the peacock, the fox, and the magpie." His illustrations to *Historiettes et Images* by M. A. de Savigny (pseud. Maurice Alhoy) opened with a chapter on the lawcourts' antechambers where lawyers were seen to behave like coach drivers scrounging for profitable fares. Lazy lawyers, greedy lawyers, as well as those "who plea too little and those who plea too much" (see figs. 111, 112) fit the description of "L'Homme de Loi" (1841) profiled in the series of *Physiologies* published by Aubert and others, to which Daumier contributed.

Surrounded by critics and self-proclaimed experts on France's legal machinery, Daumier was equipped with a full team of advisors, among them his editor Philipon, the journalists Louis Huart and Maurice Alhoy (author of *Brigands et bandits célèbres* and *Les Prisons de Paris*), and also Philipon's brother-in-law Bethmont, a lawyer who was sometimes praised for his liberal attitudes in the pages of *Le Charivari*.⁶ But Daumier need only have scanned the ample supply of derogatory comment that was available to everyone in popular texts in order to find the censorious script for his own pictorial dramas; thus, although his pictures represented opinions that were not solely his, they gave unprecedented and unforgettably potent form to then-popular wisdom.

Daumier's particular genius is evident in the stunning and disciplined clarity of his images. The artist never became mired in detail or narratives that required explanation, but instead concentrated on defining character through incisive description. Thus,



Fig. 112. Photograph by Owen Brewster, published in *The New York Times*, May 26, 1991. Courtesy *The Sacramento Bee*

true identities are revealed in overconfident strides, inflated chests, histrionic gestures, and smug expressions. Memorable as these figures are, they finally represent for us neither lawyers nor judges, but personifications of human weakness dressed up in dark robes.

The highly finished watercolors of lawyers and judges, which Daumier produced in the 1860s, are in every way the works of a mature artist conscientiously refining themes tried earlier within the framework of journalism. They have an air of formality and self-conscious importance, reminding us that the artist was not in this instance cartooning for the newspaper but proffering his art to the select world of connoisseurs and collectors. These unique compositions are grander in conception, often more forceful than his popularly distributed lithographs, and are as satisfying as small paintings.

1. Jean Le Foyer, *Daumier au Palais de Justice* (La Colombe, 1958), p. 17.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 21; the lithograph is *Ils ne font qu'un salut* (D. 32).
3. See *Bergeron et Benoit*, March 1833 (D. 143); *Bastien et Robert*, August 16, 1833 (D. 159); *Emile de La Roncière*, July 6–11, 1835 (D. 250–253); *Morey*, February 4, 1836 (D. 289, 293); *Fieschi*, February 1–14, 1836 (D. 293–297).
4. *Les Blanchisseuses* (D. 39), *Masques de 1831* (D. 42), *Dup...* (D. 45), and *Père-Scie* (D. 51).
5. Entry for March 15, 1865, in Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal: Mémoires de la vie littéraire*, ed. Robert Ricatte (Paris, 1956), vol. 2, p. 140.
6. Le Foyer, *Daumier au Palais de Justice*, pp. 50–51.

At the Palais de Justice

(Au Palais de Justice)

Pen and ink, wash, black chalk, watercolor, and gouache

Laid paper: 140 × 230 mm (5½ × 9¼ in.)

Signed in ink, lower left: *h. Daumier*

Paris, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Petit Palais

EXHIBITION: Paris 1934, no. 125

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 620

The compressed theatricality of this public scene associates it with the genre of popular Paris view-making that was mastered by artists from Abraham Bosse to Philibert-Louis Debucourt, and at the time of Daumier's birth had become the special province of Louis-Léopold Boilly.

Around 1850, when he composed this view of the corridor traffic at the Palais de Justice, Daumier probably had in mind a work like Boilly's painting of *The Galleries of the Palais Royal* (fig. 113) with its frieze of animated figures set against a grand archi-

tectural backdrop. The courthouse antechamber depicted here, the Salle de Pas-Perdus (the room of wasted steps), remains a cavernous space more than 220 feet long described by some as "the judicial stock-exchange."

Daumier pictured a distraught widow with her child, like the pair shown hastily leaving the courts, in an 1848 lithograph in the series *Les Gens de Justice* (D. 1371). Conspiratorial lawyers such as those featured at the center of this scene remained a focus of Daumier's work for close to thirty years.



Fig. 113. Louis-Léopold Boilly, *The Galleries of the Palais Royal*, 1809. Oil on canvas, 50 × 63.5 cm (19⅞ × 25 in.). Paris, Musée Carnavalet



A Lawyer Reading

(Un Avocat lisant)

Black chalk, wash, and watercolor

Laid paper: 235 × 170 mm (9¼ × 6¾ in.)

Initialed in ink, lower right: *h.D.*

New York, Mr. and Mrs. Eugene V. Thaw

EXHIBITION: Paris 1901, no. 225

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 576; Felice Stampfle and Cara D. Denison, *Drawings from the Collection of Mr. & Mrs. Eugene V. Thaw* (New York, 1975), no. 87

An unusually sympathetic portrayal of a lawyer, who appears to be earnestly reading a brief, this may be counted among the earliest of Daumier's surviving watercolors of the legal profession and probably dates around 1855–60. This novice who stands in a corner seems modest and quite diminutive compared to later and grander attorneys who cast their shadows on the pillars of the courthouse in Daumier's painting of the same title (M. I–213) and a related watercolor (fig. 114).



Fig. 114. *Before the Hearing*, ca. 1865 (M. 577). Charcoal, pen and ink, wash, and watercolor, 380 × 285 mm (15 × 11¼ in.). Courtesy Sotheby's New York



Two Lawyers Conversing in a Courtroom

(Deux Avocats)

Charcoal and stump, black chalk, wash,
and watercolor

Laid paper: 324 × 264 mm (12³/₄ × 10³/₈ in.)

Initialed in ink, lower right: *hD*.

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art,
Gift of Myron A. Hofer in memory of his mother,
Mrs. Charles Hofer (1945.6.3)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 116; Paris 1901, no.
134; London 1961, no. 206

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison* 602; *Provost*, p. 216

In Daumier's lithographs of lawyers the dramatic action of the courtroom is rarely upstaged; here it is treated merely as background scenery and is thus made to seem both distant and routine. Daumier introduced the same compositional device in a lithograph in *Les Gens de Justice* (D. 1368) in 1847, which probably predates by more than a decade this drawing of two self-satisfied colleagues walking out on business-as-usual. A similar composition in which the attention of the lawyers in the foreground is turned back toward the activity of the courtroom can be seen in another, more highly finished watercolor (M. 682).





81

A Pleading Lawyer

(Un Avocat plaidant)

Black chalk, pen and ink

Laid paper: 128 × 242 mm (5 1/8 × 9 1/2 in.)

Unsigned

Verso: *Studies for a Barker* (cat. no. 105)

Black chalk

Los Angeles, The Armand Hammer Daumier and Contemporaries Collection, The Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center (4586)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 626 and 508 (verso); *Honoré Daumier, 1808–1879: The Armand Hammer Daumier Collection*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 1982) no. 193

The parallels Daumier drew between the histrionics of arguing lawyers and the attention-getting tactics of sideshow barkers are made clear by this two-sided sheet. The postures of both the performers studied here (see also cat. no. 105) were repeatedly readjusted for maximum effect. Open-mouthed expostulation can be seen in Daumier's lithographs as early as 1837, when the swindler Robert Macaire was shown pleading his case (D. 399), but the gaunt and lined face of this harried lawyer dates from the 1860s.



82

For the Defense

(Le Défenseur)

Black chalk, gray wash, white chalk, and conté crayon

Laid paper: 235 × 356 mm (9¼ × 14 in.)

Initialed in conté crayon, lower left: *h.D.*

Washington, D.C., The Phillips Collection (1937)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 267; Paris 1934, no. 132; London 1961, no. 221

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 664; Washington 1979, no. 54; Sasha M. Newman, *French Drawings from the Phillips Collection*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C., 1985), no. 8

A defense lawyer's pretensions to heroic eloquence are supported here by his upraised arm and chin and his wind-filled robes.

Exhibited in 1901 under the title *L'Avocat lyrique*, this drawing has the assurance and fluidity of a mature work in which the central drama is much more focused and fully realized than it was in an earlier lithograph in the series *Les Gens de Justice* (fig. 115). This work of the early 1860s predates by a decade the strained, almost macabre reinterpretations of the very same scene which Daumier produced not long before his death, where the emphasis shifted from the orator's flowing drapery to his sinister, skeletal features (M. 661–663).



Fig. 115. *Une Péroration à la Démosthène*. Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, November 1, 1847 (D. 1369). 255 × 190 mm (10⅞ × 7½ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Edwin De T. Bechtel, 1957

The Testimony of a Minor

(La Séance à huis clos)

Charcoal, gray wash, and conté crayon
Laid paper: 215 × 345 mm (8½ × 13½ in.)
Signed in ink, lower left: *h. Daumier*
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek

EXHIBITION: Paris 1878, no. 103

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 645; *Catalogue de la Vente P. A.* (Paul Aubry), Paris, 1897, no. 40; *Catalogue des Tableaux ... Collection Edgar Degas*, sale cat., Paris, March 26–27, 1918, no. 108; Passeron 1981, p. 237

Daumier may have had a specific case in mind when he pictured the intimidating scrutiny of a young girl by a panel of tight-lipped judges. His description is poignantly vivid. Sunlight aimed through the courtroom's windows affirms the child's shy innocence, while the atmosphere that surrounds her is darkly expectant. The lighting scheme is comparable to the one Goya used in his *Caprichos*.

This brutal scenario (which was envisioned in two earlier sketches: M. 643, 644) was first placed on public view in Daumier's 1878 exhibition at the Galerie Durand-Ruel, where it promptly attracted the attention of the press. In *La Lanterne* (April 20, 1878), a reporter declared the subject "tragically monstrous ... the judges are feverishly, lecherously questioning a ragged little girl, who is paralysed and petrified by their prurient curiosity."¹ The drawing's pentimenti suggest that Daumier may have at first intended

to represent a pregnant woman, in which case the difficulty of her situation would have been much more obvious.

After the sale of Paul Aubry's collection in 1897 this drawing entered the hands of Edgar Degas, who had himself become interested in a series of sensational trials that began in 1879. Degas witnessed courtroom proceedings in 1880, when a group of minors were charged with murder; he then portrayed three of the young people in pastels entitled *Criminal Physiognomy*.² Degas depicted his subjects in profile, as Daumier often did, so that alleged character traits could be readily deciphered.

1. Quoted in Roger Passeron, *Daumier* (New York, 1981), p. 237.
2. Douglas W. Druick and Peter Zegers, "Scientific Realism: 1873–1881," in Jean Sutherland Boggs et al., *Degas*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and National Gallery of Canada (New York and Ottawa, 1988), pp. 208–9.



A Criminal Case

(Une Cause criminelle)

Pen and ink, gray wash, watercolor, gouache, and conté crayon over black chalk

Wove paper: 385 × 382 mm (15 1/8 × 12 1/16 in.)

Signed in black ink, lower left: *h. Daumier*

Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (89. GA. 33)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 225; Paris 1934, no. 136; Philadelphia 1937, no. 35

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison* 673; "Acquisitions 1989," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 18 (1990), p. 186, no. 40

Daumier's superbly finished watercolor of the mid-1860s repeats a theme he explored in 1846 in one of the lithographs of *Les Gens de Justice* (fig. 20). The print is unusually sober in mood relative to other caricatures in its series and must rely on its legend for comic effect. To this later and much more ambitious work Daumier brought both greater monumentality and emotional gravity, endowing a murmur in the hushed courtroom with weighty significance and the suggestion of dire consequences.

A wood-engraved reproduction of this watercolor (Bouvy 990) illustrated Daumier's 1879 obituary in *Les Beaux-Arts Illustrés*.

In the Courtroom

(Avant l'audience)

Pen and ink with wash over conté crayon

Laid paper: 212 × 225 mm (8 3/8 × 8 7/8 in.)

Initialed in brown ink, lower left: *h.D.*

New York, The Honorable Samuel J. and Mrs. Ethel LeFrak and Family

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison* 652; Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, sale cat., May 2, 1973, lot 1; Diane Kelder, *Masters of the Modern Tradition: Selections from the Collection of Samuel J. and Ethel LeFrak* (New York, 1988), pp. 18–19

This is arguably the most successful of Daumier's four known studies of the stalled exchange between a lawyer and his imploring client, who advances toward him, hat in hand. The confrontation is here very vigorously drawn and joined in close where the counselor's shrug meets the defendant's out-thrust jaw. Two pen and ink sketches of this same subject, as well as two more broadly detailed watercolors (M. 652–655), probably date as this drawing does from the mid-1860s.



A Lawyer (with busts of five men)

(Le Juge [avec quelques croquis de têtes
des deux côtés])

Black chalk, pen and ink, wash, and conté crayon

Wove paper: 333 × 249 mm (13 1/8 × 9 3/4 in.)

Initialed in ink, lower left: *h.D.*

Verso: *Two Figures in a Landscape/Don Quixote
and Sancho Panza*

Pen and ink, wash, and conté crayon

Private Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 574 and 717 (verso); Le
Secq sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 17–18, 1905,
lot 189; Provost, pp. 216–17

The self-important lawyer, who is always armed with legal papers, strides into Daumier's work in 1840 as *Monsieur Tout Affaires* (D. 758). He appears in the pages of *Le Charivari* throughout the 1850s as a somewhat portlier figure moving at a steady pace, and by the 1860s can be seen as a dominant presence at the center of several watercolors Daumier produced for collectors (see cat. no. 88).

This sheet of sketches is a particularly artful demonstration of Daumier's tireless study of his subjects, and perhaps recollects the sights of a courtroom. Although the various postures and expressions are casually presented, the array is gracefully composed.

The principal figure in this drawing had been identified earlier as a judge; lacking a white band on the brim of his hat, he is more correctly called a lawyer.



The Judge

(L'Avocat)

Charcoal, gray wash, and conté crayon
Wove paper: 281 × 182 mm (11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
Initialed in ink, lower left: *h.D.*
New York, Private Collection

EXHIBITION: New York 1930, no. 118

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 571; Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, sale cat., November 7, 1979, lot 517

A figure of monumental proportions seeming to aspire to the architectural grandeur of the Palais de Justice, the subject of this drawing might have been preliminary to the over-proud lawyer Daumier portrayed descending the courthouse's grand staircase (see cat. no. 88). However, the statuesque judge, totally realized in a matter of very few strokes, stands flanked by three other lightly sketched figures and therefore could be related to a later drawing in which a group of lawyers bands together (see cat. no. 92).

Grand Staircase of the Palais de Justice

(Le Grand Escalier du Palais de Justice)

Pen and black ink, watercolor, and conté crayon over black chalk, heightened with gouache
Laid paper: 358 × 266 mm (14 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 10 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)
Signed in ink, lower left: *h. Daumier*
Baltimore, The George A. Lucas Collection of The Maryland Institute, College of Art, on indefinite loan to The Baltimore Museum of Art (L.33.53.2)

EXHIBITIONS: Philadelphia 1937, no. 40; London 1961, no. 202

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 601; Provost, p. 216

In 1848, when Daumier drew two lawyers descending a staircase for a lithograph in *Le Charivari* (fig. 116), he may have intended to illustrate the rank-conscious competition that exists between lawyers. But when the same scene was refigured in this watercolor more than fifteen years later, the central theme changed to egotistical pomposity. The enlarged scale and increased animation in this reinterpretation impart unusual richness, especially in such details as the baroque flourishes given to the lawyer's scarf and sleeve.

The work is one of a group of watercolors by Daumier purchased in Paris by the American art dealer-collector George A. Lucas (see cat. nos. 48–50) and can be associated with two of Daumier's oil paintings (M. I–18 and M. I–II.38), although neither approaches its impact or élan.

A black chalk sketch for the watercolor's composition, not known to Maison, is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Rosenwald Collection).



Fig. 116. *Grand Escalier du Palais de Justice: Vue de face*. Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, February 8, 1848 (D. 1372). 240 × 180 mm (9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Edwin De T. Bechtel, 1957







89

89

Two Lawyers Conversing

(Deux Avocats)

Black chalk, wash, watercolor, gouache,
and conté crayon

Laid paper: (sight) 209 × 270 mm (8¼ × 10⅝ in.)

Signed in ink, lower right: *h. Daumier*

New York, Mr. and Mrs. Eugene V. Thaw

PROVENANCE: Jules Clarétie

EXHIBITION: Paris 1878, no. 195

BIBLIOGRAPHY: not in *Maison*; Palais Galliéra, Paris,
sale cat., March 27, 1973, lot 17; Felice Stampfle and
Cara D. Denison, *Drawings from the Collection of*
Mr. & Mrs. Eugene V. Thaw (New York, 1975),
no. 88

Daumier devised innumerable techniques for seizing the viewer's interest in lawyers' daily routines. He frequently showed the robed men in pairs, describing their encounters in ways that contrasted their movements, physiques, or apparent dispositions.

In this exceptionally well-preserved work Daumier used an off-the-shoulder remark as the excuse for a transparent analysis of human nature. One lawyer, seemingly the bureaucratic type who keeps his hat on and sticks by the book, listens, nonplussed, to another more loquacious sort, full of suggestions and eager to propose some new angle. The two could easily be characters in a farce (see fig. 117).



Fig. 117. *Scapin and Silvestre*, 1863–65 (M. I–162).
Oil on canvas, 60.5 × 82 cm (23⅞ × 32⅜ in.).
Paris, Musée du Louvre

A Confidence

(Une Confidence)

Charcoal, pen and red/brown ink, and black ink

Laid paper: 245 × 195 mm (9⁵/₈ × 7⁷/₈ in.)

Watermark: . . . ST (Hudelist?)

Initialed in black ink, lower left: *h.D.*

Verso: *A Pleading Lawyer*

Charcoal and conté crayon

London, Victoria and Albert Museum,

Ionides Collection (127)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 591 and 649 (verso)

A Confidence

(Une Confidence)

Charcoal, pen and ink, wash, red and black chalk

Wove paper: 295 × 215 mm (11³/₈ × 8¹/₂ in.)

Verso: *The Butcher, Montmartre* (fig. 28)

Charcoal, watercolor, and conté crayon

Signed in ink, lower right: *hDaumier*

Private Collection

EXHIBITION: Paris 1878, no. 170 (Maison 263)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 592 and 263 (verso)

Taking into account Daumier's often discontinuous way of working, it is unwise to assume that his ink study (cat. no. 90) directly preceded the wash drawing to which it is closely related (cat. no. 91). The sketch may have played either a preliminary role, or else served as a reconsideration, after the brushed work was abandoned.

The fuller figures of the lawyers in this sketch, the alterations of their poses, and the attention paid to the tilts of their heads may be interpreted as refinements. But it is not so much the speaking lawyer's lurching movement that transmits the tension inherent in this situation, as it is Daumier's insistent pen work in red ink.

Why the artist abandoned his more thoroughly modeled wash drawing without completing it is not easily explained; on its verso is another work, a shadowy depiction of a butcher, that is finished and signed (fig. 28). Daumier may have been dissatisfied with the figure at the left of the composition, whose posture is much more emphatic in the ink and charcoal sketch (cat. no. 90).

The efforts of one lawyer to convince another are often pictured in Daumier's prints: in the series *Les Avocats et les plaideurs* of 1851 (D. 2187, 2188), and most notably in the *Croquis Parisiens* (D. 3288) of 1864, a plausible date for these two drawings.







Four Lawyers

(Étude de quatre avocats)

Pen and ink, gray wash

Laid paper: 270 × 224 mm (10⁵/₈ × 8⁷/₈ in.)

Initialed in ink, lower left: *h.D.*

The Art Institute of Chicago,

Gift of Mary and Leigh Block (1988.141.27)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 605

At the same time comic and threateningly militant, this phalanx of lawyers with its Janus-faced leader advances right up to the picture's surface. It was often the artist's practice to mass together a group of fast-approaching figures, as he did to dynamic effect as early as 1849 in the painting *The Miller, His Son, and the Ass* (fig. 78).

This stirring ink study is typical of work executed around 1868–70, when Daumier wrapped his figures in wiry lines which suggest volume without exactly defining it. The exaggerated scale and apparent weight of these figures is contradicted by the drawing's delicate lines and the phantomlike effect of the washes.



93

A Pleading Lawyer Points Toward a Witness

(L'Argument décisif)

Pen and black ink, gray wash, and conté crayon

Laid paper: 182 × 277 mm (7¹/₈ × 10⁷/₈ in.)

Initialed in black ink, lower right: *h.D.*;

and (probably) later, lower left: *h.D.*

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

(F-II-170)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 647; *Honoré Daumier: Peintures, Dessins, Lithographies, Sculptures*, exh. cat., Villa Schneider (Ingelheim am Rhein, 1971), no. 46; A.F.W.M. Meij and Jurriaan A. Poot, *Nineteenth Century French Drawings from the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, exh. cat., International Exhibitions Foundation (Washington, D.C., 1986), no. 33

Daumier made a career of summarizing situations in portraits of actions that speak louder than words. The most striking gesture one could expect to see in a courtroom, that of a finger accusingly pointing, appeared in his prints of *Les Gens de Justice* in 1845 (D. 1342) and was still a forceful tool in his work—even after age and infirmity had weakened his hand. Many drawings made in the 1870s, like this one, are remarkably potent and abrasive, tracking a pen's anxious efforts to maintain control.

Paul Valéry may have had a work such as this in mind when he wrote of “the macabre effect which accords so well with the provi-

sional quality of his [Daumier's] world.

Mockery, in Daumier, constitutes a sort of Pre–Last Judgment. Taken together, his caricatures give the impression of a Dance of Moral or Intellectual Death.”¹

Although this sketch focuses on the action that is central to the drawing *L'Accusation* (see M. 665, 666), it is less closely linked to that broader composition than is another earlier and more concentrated study in black chalk and ink (M. 646).

1. Paul Valéry, *Degas, Manet, Morisot*, trans. David Paul (New York, 1960), p. 159.



94

Fig. 118 and 119. *The Lawyer for the Defense; The Lawyer for the Prosecution* (M. 678, 679). Pen and ink over charcoal; 270 × 175 mm (10³/₈ × 6⁷/₈ in.), 270 × 210 mm (10³/₈ × 8¹/₄ in.). Paris, Private Collection



94

A Study of Two Lawyers in Court (Etude de deux avocats)

Pen and ink with gray wash
Laid paper: 250 × 400 mm (9⁷/₈ × 15³/₄ in.)
Unsigned
Private Collection

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 219

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 677; *Nineteenth Century French Drawings*, Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London, sale cat., June 22–July 22, 1989, no. 17

Daumier set the stage for a particularly dramatic watercolor (cat. no. 95) with this sketch, which allows us to follow his rapid-fire formation of the characters' roles in pen and ink. In the watercolor, the places of the starring actors were reversed, and shouted accusations took the place of oratory.



95

95

The Speech for the Defense

(Le Plaidoyer; Une Cause célèbre)

Black chalk, wash, pen and ink, watercolor, gouache, and conté crayon

Wove paper: 260 × 430 mm (10¼ × 17 in.)

Signed in pen and black ink, lower left: *h. Daumier.*

Private Collection

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 182; Paris 1901, no. 146; Paris 1934, no. 135; Philadelphia 1937, no. 38

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison 680*; *Nineteenth Century French Drawings*, Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London, sale cat., June 22–July 22, 1989, no. 18

The lawyer listening in this case seems to swivel his head in the direction of speech, pictorially recording both his and, coincidentally, the artist's own change of mind. This simultaneous display of a face viewed from both the front and the side looks forward to Picasso's cubist heads, although here it exists due to Daumier's hasty modifications.

This highly theatrical, finished watercolor may be associated with other similar works which Daumier produced for collectors in the mid to late 1860s: *The Defense* (M. 658–660) and *After the Hearing* (M. 638), as well as a wood engraving published in *Le*

Monde illustré on April 20, 1867 (Bouvy 971). Each presents a head-on view of court action as seen from the judges' bench, with the hushed audience of the gallery lined up in the background.

All parts of this composition are hieratically arranged; the long table the lawyers stood behind in the preparatory sketch (cat. no. 94) is now partitioned into two separate stations from which the opposing parties can argue by launching accusations across the divide. The orderly stability of the background casts into sharp relief the prosecutor's unruly hysteria.

Like the lawyer on the other side who knowingly observes his opposite's desperate tactics, Daumier, too, seems to have been bemused by such frantic outbursts, which repeatedly spurred him to unparalleled graphic activity.

Courtroom Scene (The Verdict)

(Scène de tribunal; Le Verdict)

Pen and ink, with traces of black chalk

Laid paper: 366 × 418 mm (14½ × 16⅞ in.)

Unsigned

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art,
Rosenwald Collection (1943.3.3235)

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 218

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 685

The scope and complexity of this composition, which Daumier sought to order pictorially three times on one (pieced-together) sheet, and also in two other studies (M. 684), suggests the special importance the artist attached to this scenario.

The focus of this unusually climactic narrative is the fallen defendant who has collapsed, one supposes, after hearing the court's verdict. He is ignored, nonetheless, by the lawyer for his defense who busily collects his papers, while the three magistrates of the Cour d'Assises, now done with their job, file out. It is the convicted man who will remain behind, physically and metaphorically, his slumped figure recalling scenes of martyrdom like the painted Crucifixion, seen mounted over the judicial bench. Like Daumier's studies of the defeated prodigal son (see cat. nos. 36 and 37), this poignant work probably dates from the early 1870s.



Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime

(La Justice et la Vengeance divine
poursuivant le Crime)

Pen and ink, wash, and red chalk
Laid paper: 260 × 340 mm (10¼ × 13⅜ in.)
Signed in ink, lower left: *hDaumier*
Private Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 813; Sylvain Laveissière,
*Prud'hon: La Justice et la Vengeance divine
poursuivant le Crime*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre
(Paris, 1986), no. 91; Provost, p. 218

As if to summarize his lifelong criticism of the judicial system, Daumier parodied Prud'hon's 1808 painting *Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime* (fig. 120) by casting a lawyer or judge in the villainous role of Crime. Prud'hon's well-known canvas had held a prominent place in the Palais de Justice until its removal from the Salle des Assises in 1815 and subsequent transfer to the Louvre, where it was placed on view in 1826. A reproduction of it turns up as the decoration for a Chinese courtroom in one of Daumier's 1845 lithographs (D. 1219), and the oil appears again later in a drawing of a court scene where the painting is imagined hanging in its previous site, high above the judges' heads (fig. 25).

Daumier spoofed the frivolous activities of the bourgeoisie and idle politicians in parodies of another of Prud'hon's paintings, the *Young Zephyr* (see D. 1506 and D. 2053), but the special significance of the elder artist's celebrated allegory of Justice and Crime developed in Daumier's mind over time.

In a note on the back of the drawing, its former owner Philippe Burty explained: "I exchanged this rather late sketch by Daumier for another one by Delacroix. It was not signed. Geoffroy-Dechaume took it to Daumier, to please him. He was willing to sign it, but the poor great artist is so close to complete blindness that it was necessary to hold his hand, and he was unable to add any further inscription. Ph. Burty, February 2, 1879."



Fig. 120. Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, *Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime*, 1808. Oil on canvas, 243 × 292 cm (95 × 115 in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre



Sideshowes and Saltimbanques

MARGRET STUFFMANN

In his works intended for the public, namely his lithographed caricatures, Daumier had been portraying street performers since the 1830s. But it was only in the 1850s that such subjects began to appear regularly in his work in other media. These themes then became extremely important in the more private sphere of his drawings, watercolors, and paintings, works he produced for himself or for specific collectors. They would continue to occupy him for the rest of his life.

These works are so numerous, so layered with meaning, and of such high quality that we have chosen to present them as a separate section of both this catalogue and the exhibition. In our selection we have sought the most typical examples, and though there

is still much that we do not know about the artist's stylistic evolution, we have attempted to arrange them both by date and by motif.

As in his portrayals of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, shown in the following section, Daumier here limits himself to only a few particular scenes. These he repeats again and again, varying them in the search for antithetical contrasts, both within a single composition and between complementary ones. One notes that he was less concerned with outward narration than with underlying meaning.

The scenes fall into two main groups. The first of these consists of depictions of outdoor sideshows, or *parades*. In every case a barker stands on a platform in front of a makeshift stage or a tent, surrounded by a

group of performers, making every effort to capture the interest of the passing public. At times he is accompanied by either a muscular strong man or a very fat woman. Posters or backdrops painted with figures and exciting scenes are added by Daumier to provide pictorial structure and also to suggest something of the spectacle awaiting inside. These presentations are suffused with the music of trumpeters and drummers.

The other group of drawings in this section, by no means so rowdy but no less expressive, focuses on the figure of the clown, or saltimbanque. He is depicted either together with his wife and children or all alone. Either way, it is apparent that he is poor, unsuccessful, and ignored by the crowd. With his profoundly serious expression he makes a direct appeal to the viewer's conscience and sympathies. In somewhat more obvious social protest, Daumier presents the same sense of futility in a series of nearly contemporary portrayals of organ-grinders, street singers, and itinerant fiddlers.

Daumier's involvement with the subject of public performances and the intensity of his portrayals of them raise a number of questions. One wonders, for example, to what extent he was indebted to artistic precedent, how authentic his depictions really are, and how well he knew the various writers of his day who also dealt with this subject matter. And of course one wonders just what he meant to communicate in these predominantly late works.

In our review of this material, two relatively recent studies have been especially helpful. One is Paula H. Harper's dissertation, *Daumier's Clowns: Les Saltimbanques et les Parades*, published in 1981. The other is T. J. Clark's *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848–1851*, published in 1973. Clark has a great deal to say about the underlying political content of the subject of public performances. In Har-



Fig. 121. Pablo Picasso, *Family of Saltimbanques*, 1905. Oil on canvas, 234 × 222 cm (92¼ × 87¾ in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Chester Dale Collection. © VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn, 1992



Fig. 122. Max Beckmann, *The Tall Man*, plate 5 of the series *Der Jahrmarkt*, 1921. Drypoint, 308 × 209 mm (12 1/8 × 8 1/4 in.). Frankfurt am Main, Städtische Galerie im Städtischen Kunstinstitut. © VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn, 1992

per's exhaustive study she finds it useful to compare Daumier's inventions with popular prints from the period, and she shows how this artist who was so committed to being a man of his time invented formulations blending artistic tradition with forecasts of the art of the future—for example, the works of Picasso or Beckmann (see figs. 121, 122).

Sideshows, street performers, and pantomimes in the tradition of the *commedia dell'arte* were still a familiar part of the street life of Paris in the first half of the nineteenth century. One frequently encounters them in paintings and prints of the period as genre scenes. However, around the middle of the century the character of these everyday entertainments underwent a change,

becoming much more politically aggressive. With the advent of the Republic and the Second Empire, street performers were subjected to persecution for their supposed subversive activities, and in Baron Haussmann's sweeping restructuring of the city they were frequently driven from their customary locations and forced into the outlying districts.¹ Taking up the subject of saltimbanques, Daumier could thus have been entertaining a certain nostalgia, criticizing current conditions, expressing his sympathy for the lives of these outsiders, or indicating some ironic distance from his own activity as a caricaturist.

While it is likely that Daumier had seen such street artists himself and may even have been acquainted with some of them, it was probably his writer-friends who inspired him to include these figures in his own work. In French literature of the decades between 1830 and 1870, that is to say the era characterized by romanticism and realism (and a juxtaposition or blending of the two), the figure of the clown became symbolic of the artistic life in general and was thus subject to a variety of interpretations.² To some the saltimbanque personified the free thinker and his problematic relation to authority, to others he symbolized the artist's freedom to follow wherever his imagination might lead him, and to still others he served as the prototype of the impoverished outsider.

The writers who described the figure of the street performer, such as Victor Hugo, Théophile Gautier, Théodore de Banville, Jules Champfleury, and above all Charles Baudelaire, were all from Daumier's own circle of more or less intimate acquaintances. Though Daumier's portrayals reveal certain parallels with those of his writer-friends, they are not merely illustrations of figures developed in literature, but rather their pictorial equivalents. Inasmuch as he concentrated on *parades* and saltimbanques, it would seem that these are independent med-



Fig. 123. *Parade du charivari*. Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, January 6, 1839 (D. 554). 343 × 237 mm (13 1/2 × 9 3/8 in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1962

itations on the relationship between the artist and his public based on Daumier's own experience. They appear to have been occasioned by a succession of personal crises: his serious illness in 1858, financial insecurity as the result of his estrangement from the journal *Le Charivari* between 1860 and 1863, the renewed threat of war in the late 1860s, and finally the onset of his blindness. Each of these events must have caused him to rethink his situation as an artist who was dependent on the uncertain patronage of others.

Having begun as a caricaturist who only turned to drawing and painting in his later years, Daumier was bound to be especially sensitive to the plight of the independent



Fig. 124. Jacques Callot, title page for the series *Balli di Sfessania*, ca. 1621. Etching, 72 × 93 mm (2¹³/₁₆ × 3¹/₁₆ in.). Frankfurt am Main, Städelches Kunstinstitut

artist, a topic of increasing concern among his contemporaries. It is telling that he chose the “sideshow” motif for an advertisement he designed for *Le Charivari* in 1839 (fig. 123) and repeated it in a second version later that same year (D. 620). In effect he was promoting caricature with caricature, by using a popular subject that had a special significance for the intellectuals of his day.

By the 1860s, when he began varying the same motif with overtones of the farcical and grotesque, it is clear that the theme had taken on a new meaning for him. In many respects Paula Harper seems justified in her suspicion that in these later sideshows Daumier was frequently venting his anger at the deceitful politics of the period.³ But at the same time, given his increasing desire to distance himself from caricature, it seems equally plausible that he was turning his finer talents against the kind of pandering to the public that had furnished his livelihood heretofore, and that the noisy barkers he depicted are to some extent stand-ins for himself as a caricaturist. This interpretation gains support from the fact that during this same period Daumier began to develop in the figure of the saltimbanque the complementary motif of the isolated artist that would continue to intrigue him even in his late years. In his earliest works on this theme, which are presented here (see cat. no. 113), it is evident that Daumier was preoccupied with the clown’s inability to

make himself heard. Later (see cat. no. 115), he began to show not only that the public was ignoring him, but that it had abandoned him in favor of a noisier sideshow in the background. To Daumier, the images of the clown and the sideshow were two sides of the same coin.

All of this would constitute only a footnote to history or to the iconography of art were it not for Daumier’s intensely personal treatment of these motifs. It has often been noted that from the very beginning, and even in his work as a caricaturist, Daumier drew heavily on the works of the old masters. And while we have no wish to detract from his originality or to force him into some narrow category convenient for the art historian, it is clear that he could have found precedents for his sideshows and his saltimbanques in the compositions of Callot and Watteau. These earlier artists both belonged to an anti-academic tradition that the Romantics had rediscovered and revived. The heightened drama of Daumier’s sideshows and their arabesqueline style of drawing are distinctly reminiscent of Callot (fig. 124), and it is difficult to imagine, when faced with his sad but dignified saltimbanques



Fig. 125. Etching by Edmond Hedouin of Antoine Watteau’s *Gilles* (ca. 1717–19), published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1860, between pages 260 and 261

with their unique blend of frontality and distance, their costumes, and their soulful expressions, that Daumier was not influenced also by Watteau’s *Gilles*. Despite his relatively reclusive habits, Daumier took pride in being well informed and up-to-date. It is more than likely that he saw the *Gilles* (at that time still in the La Caze Collection) at the highly acclaimed exhibition of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French painting in the Galerie Martinet in 1860. Reviewing the show, Théophile Gautier described Watteau’s work as a “peinture héroïque dans le genre bouffon,”⁴ and for the review in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, W. Bürger chose to reproduce the painting as one of the highlights of the exhibition (fig. 125).⁵ As it happened, that was the same year in which the Goncourt brothers published an article on Watteau in their *L’Art du 18^{ième} siècle*. Coincidences of this kind are typical of the intellectual milieu of a capital city like the Paris of Daumier’s time, and they help us to understand how tradition and modernism combined to shape an epoch.

Nothing corresponds more to Daumier’s treatment of clowns in content and structure than the last lines of Baudelaire’s prose-poem “Le Vieux Saltimbanque,” which was published in 1862: “I’ve glimpsed the image of an old author who was the brilliant entertainer of a generation he has outlived; an old poet without friends, family, or children, degraded by misery and ingratitude, whose booth the fickle world won’t care to enter anymore!”⁶

1. T. J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848–1851* (London, 1973), pp. 119f.
2. Paula Hays Harper, *Daumier’s Clowns: Les Saltimbanques et les Parades* (New York, 1981), pp. 66f.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
4. In *Le Moniteur Universel*, October 1860, pp. 1061–62.
5. “Exposition de tableaux de l’école française, tirés de collections d’amateurs,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 1, 7 (September 1860), pp. 257ff.
6. Quoted from *The Flowers of Evil and Paris Spleen: Poems by Charles Baudelaire*, trans. William H. Crosby (Brockport, N.Y., 1991), p. 363.



98

Carnival Scene

(Parade de saltimbanques)

Oil on wood

25 × 33 cm (9⁷/₈ × 13 in.)

Signed lower left: *h. Daumier*

New York, José Mugrabi Collections

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 37; Paris 1934, no. 34; Philadelphia 1937, no. 9

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison I–126; Georgel and Mandel 1972, no. 166

The angle of vision selected for this carnival scene allowed Daumier to develop within a modest format and with a limited repertoire of arcs, diagonals, and verticals an especially effective illusion of volumes and of depth. As our gaze is led from left to right past the beating of the drum, the cymbal rattling, and the violin playing, it almost seems as though we can hear the scene as clearly as we see it. We find ourselves positioned on the same level of the scaffolding



Fig. 126. *Street Musicians* (M. 347). Charcoal, stump, and conté crayon, 220 × 310 mm (8³/₈ × 12¹/₄ in.). Paris, Private Collection

as the musicians, high above the public. Daumier's unusually supple modeling of forms and bright palette are in many ways reminiscent of the paintings of Millet.

In a closely related drawing (fig. 126) the direction of the view is changed and we look up at the musicians from below. Though extremely spare in its drawing, this work shows a comparable arrangement of crowded bodies and surrounding space. The sure handling of these forms, with their calm outlines and relative lack of internal modeling, recalls the *Saltimbanques* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cat. no. 112), and leads us to date the present work, like that one, to 1860 or shortly afterward.



Fig. 127. *The Saltimbanque* (M. 511). Black chalk and conté crayon, 445 × 315 mm (17¹/₂ × 12¹/₂ in.). Paris, Private Collection



Study for a Sideshow

(Etude pour une parade)

Black chalk

Laid paper: 335 × 251 mm (13³/₁₆ × 9⁷/₈ in.)

Unsigned

Verso: *Study for a Sideshow*

Paris, Musée du Louvre,

Département des Arts Graphiques (RF6160)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 241; Paris 1934, no. 101; Marseille 1979, no. 67

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 523 and 524 (verso); Veronika Kaposy, "Remarques sur deux époques importantes de l'art de Daumier dessinateur," *Acta Historiae Artium* (Budapest) 14, nos. 3–4 (1968), pp. 255–73; Passeron 1986, illus. p. 212; Provost, p. 216

In his drawings of sideshows Daumier repeatedly borrowed more or less freely from his earlier prints, especially one published in *Le Charivari* in 1839 (fig. 123). The present example presents a familiar three-tier arrangement, with the two principal figures in front of painted posters or backdrops on a platform high above the heads of the audience.

Daumier frequently started from the nude figures, as he did here, but without telling us precisely what their role might be. We are left to guess this role from the individuals' poses and gestures. Repeatedly tracing the outlines of these figures, he reworked them, managing to give the impression of organic volumes in motion and creating a vivid sense of life. In this case we find an especially lively contrast between the powerful barker and his timorous companion.

This is one of the earliest of the sideshow drawings. Because of its relationship to the following ones it would seem to date from about 1860, although the physical quality of its powerful draughtsmanship is still similar to Daumier's style from the 1850s. A related drawing (fig. 127) doubtless dates from this earlier period and suggests how long Daumier labored to work out his central figures and their gestures, continuing to refine them over the course of the years.

The main grouping shown here is repeated in the drawing on the verso (fig. 128), although the figures are reversed and the way they relate to each other has been changed.



Fig. 128. *Study for a Sideshow* (verso of cat. no. 99). Conté crayon, 335 × 251 mm (13³/₁₆ × 9⁷/₈ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre

The Sideshow

(La Parade)

Red chalk and brown wash

Laid paper: 394 × 279 mm (15½ × 11 in.)

Unsigned

Houston, Mary Ralph Lowe

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 166; Paris 1901,
no. 291

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 551

This generous-sized drawing repeats in red chalk the composition on the reverse of the previous drawing (fig. 128). Here, Daumier has added a variety of figures that give the scene a greater air of authenticity. The central figure is the carnival strong man, who menaces a grimacing buffoon. Three more men stand to the left, one of them with a large drum, and on the backdrop behind them is a painting of a giant crocodile.

As befits the more dramatic scene on the platform, the audience in the foreground is now more fully developed, serving as a vital element in the design. The careful arrangement of the picture and its incompletely described subjects are no longer in opposition, but rather successfully balanced.





In its composition and draughtsmanship—an extremely lively blending of line, tone, and color—this large-format work represents a synthesis of the artist’s previous ideas and at the same time presents something new. An audience is no longer present in the foreground, so the viewer now confronts the scene more directly than before. The barker, motioning with his outstretched arm toward the monster—probably a dragon—portrayed on the backdrop behind him, is dressed in the fashion pictured in Daumier’s print in *Le Charivari* (fig. 123). His sidekick, an obvious charlatan, stands beside him with his hands braced on the platform railing, yelling at the top of his lungs so that his face has become a mask resembling Edvard Munch’s famous image, *The Scream*.

Pentimenti show that Daumier had first sketched a clown in the same position as one in the earlier Paris drawing (cat. no. 99). The fat woman on the right provides a bold contrast to the bony man on the left. She too is shouting, pointing through the curtain behind her with one hand while holding up two fingers of the other, apparently telling us that it will cost us two sous to see what is inside.

Despite its sketchy quality, this drawing, with its contrasting figures, lively facial expressions, and exciting use of line, is a satisfyingly complete work of art rather than a preparatory study. There would seem to be no need to transform it into a watercolor or a painting. In her comprehensive investigation of the work Kaposy has suggested a dating of 1864–65, and in many respects her arguments seem convincing.

101

The Sideshow

(La Parade)

Charcoal, graphite, red chalk, gray wash,
pen and ink, and conté crayon

Laid paper: 390 × 310 mm (15³/₈ × 12³/₁₆ in.)

Signed in pen and ink lower right: *b. D.*

Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum (1950–4276)

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 180

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 554; Veronika Kaposy,
“Remarques sur deux époques importantes de l’art
de Daumier dessinateur,” *Acta Historiae Artium*
(Budapest) 14, nos. 3–4 (1968), pp. 255–73, illus. 7;
Provost, p. 216



102

The Sideshow

(La Parade de saltimbanques)

Watercolor, charcoal, ink, and chalk

Laid paper: 289 × 350 mm (11³/₈ × 13¹³/₁₆ in.)

Unsigned

Los Angeles, The Armand Hammer Daumier and Contemporaries Collection, The Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center (10882)

EXHIBITION: Paris 1901, no. 110

BIBLIOGRAPHY: not in *Maison*; *Importants Tableaux Impressionistes et Modernes*, sale cat., Espace Drouot, Paris, March 17, 1981, lot 5; *Honoré Daumier, 1808–1879: The Armand Hammer Daumier Collection*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 1982), no. 244



103

The Sideshow

(La Parade)

Pen and ink, watercolor, black and red chalk,
gray wash, conté crayon, and gouache

Laid paper: 270 × 368 mm (10⁵/₈ × 14¹/₂ in.)

Signed in ink lower left: *h. D.*

Paris, Musée du Louvre,

Département des Arts Graphiques (RF4164)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 196; Paris 1934,
no. 99; Marseille 1979, no. 66

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 556; Veronika Kaposy,
"Remarques sur deux époques importantes de l'art
de Daumier," *Acta Historiae Artium* (Budapest) 14,
nos. 3–4 (1968), pp. 255–73, illus. 11; Paula Hays
Harper, *Daumier's Clowns: Les Saltimbanques et les
Parades* (New York, 1981), illus. 58; Provost, p. 216

Two Heads

(Deux Têtes)

Conté crayon and wash

Laid paper: 207 × 302 mm (8 1/8 × 11 7/8 in.)

Signed in brown ink, lower left: *h. D.*

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Bequest of Grégoire Tarnapol, 1979 and

Gift of Alexander Tarnapol, 1980 (1980.21.12)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 122; Provost, p. 213

The changing relationship between performers and audience that was suggested in a preceding drawing (cat. no. 101) doubtless led Daumier to experiment with a horizontal format in his two watercolors (cat. nos. 102 and 103). To widen the perspective he added an additional pair of figures on the left, borrowing from the composition of an earlier drawing (cat. no. 100). As a result, due, in part, to the reduced amount of space at the top, the group of barkers now seems to stand directly opposite the viewer, and thus appears more aggressive than ever.

Two other watercolors (cat. no. 102 and M. 555) are doubtless preparatory works, while the one from the Louvre (cat. no. 103) seems to represent the final statement in this series of sideshows. Like the version in catalogue number 100, the Paris *Sideshow* has a

curtain in the background. Painted on it is a giant crocodile snapping at a little man trying to escape, an enticing foretaste of the performance that awaits. Despite its more finished execution, the watercolor preserves the same compositional structure and the aggressive color appropriate to the boisterous subject matter.

The study of two heads from the Metropolitan Museum (cat. no. 104) suggests something of the care with which Daumier pondered each new element in the development of his sideshow compositions. Here he appears to have been concerned mainly with the changing relationship of light and volumes as the result of movement. He succeeds magnificently in conveying the excitement and vitality of the large scene in this much smaller format.





105

Studies for a Barker

(Deux Etudes d'un aboyeur)

Black chalk

Laid paper: 128 × 242 mm (5 1/8 × 9 1/2 in.)

Unsigned

Verso: *A Pleading Lawyer* (cat. no. 81)

Los Angeles, The Armand Hammer Daumier and Contemporaries Collection, The Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center (4586)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 508 and 626 (verso);
Honoré Daumier, 1808–1879: The Armand Hammer Daumier Collection, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 1982), no. 193; Provost, p. 216

These seemingly spontaneous sketches of a clown or barker for a carnival scene are a vivid demonstration of Daumier's extraordinary ability to revive experiences and observations through the process of drawing. One notes how he develops a graphic temperament and a constructive, almost geometric order in equal measure, combining outward appearance and inner structure.

Daumier is occupied here by the abstract development of an expansive physical gesture and the synchronous process of the figure's bracing and forward bending at the same time. He had dealt with this pictorial problem before, for example on the reverse of the large drawing of an actor (M. 509; see cat. no. 19). The present drawing belongs in the context of Daumier's painting *The Strong Man* in the Phillips Collection (fig. 129), which Maison dates to the mid-1860s. A corresponding or even somewhat later date would seem to apply to this work.



Fig. 129. *The Strong Man* (M. I–189). Oil on panel, 26.6 × 34.9 cm (10 1/2 × 13 3/4 in.). Washington, D.C., The Phillips Collection

The Athlete

(L'Athlète)

Graphite

Laid paper: 245 × 187 mm (9⁵/₈ × 7³/₈ in.)

Unsigned

Verso: *A Group of Figures* (fig. 130)

Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (24.128)

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 177

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 515 and 516 (verso);

Passeron 1986, illus. p. 214

The drawings on both the front and the back of this sheet obviously relate to Daumier's sideshow series. The figure seen from the back is apparently that of a carnival strong man. It is a perfect example of Daumier the draughtsman's concept of the nude figure, especially in his late period.

Daumier outlined and described this muscular figure with delicate lines that cluster together so that the body appears to take shape directly out of movement and is imbued from head to toe with its own inner energy. In earlier drawings, the artist sought to lay down definitive contours for figures which he had worked out previously in his mind, for example in the *Study for a Sideshow* in the Louvre (cat. no. 99). In this instance, however, he allowed form to develop out of the process of drawing itself.

Here Daumier treated the customary pictorial elements of form and space, line and color, action and repose all as one, so that we are tempted to see an "academy of modernism" and are immediately reminded of younger artists like Cézanne or Rodin. The style of the drawing on the reverse (fig. 130) and that of the Pierrot figure with deep-set eyes that reappears in *Two Clowns* (cat. no. 119) are likewise typical of Daumier's late period.



The Sideshow with a Carnival Strong Man

(La Parade)

Charcoal, chalk, pen and ink, gray wash
Laid paper: 508 × 368 mm (20 × 14½ in.)

Unsigned

The Art Institute of Chicago (1988.141.26)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 135; Paris 1901, no. 207; Paris 1934, no. 102; London 1961, no. 181

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 553; Veronika Kaposy, "Remarques sur deux époques importantes de l'art de Daumier dessinateur," *Acta Historiae Artium* (Budapest) 14 (1968), pp. 255–73, illus. 5; Paula Hays Harper, *Daumier's Clowns: Les Saltimbanques et Les Parades* (New York and London, 1981), illus. 57; Provost, p. 216



Fig. 130. *A Group of Figures* (verso of cat. no. 106). Black chalk, 245 × 187 mm (9⅝ × 7⅜ in.). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

In this drawing, which situates the strong man within the larger context of a sideshow, Daumier developed a more complex composition. He recreated the familiar three-part arrangement—audience, stage, and painted backdrop, but now his lines suggest a more generous space, one that permits a correspondingly greater variety of figures. With a great rolling of drums the strong man takes his place on the platform, and bursting with strength, he towers over all. The female drummer in the foreground is already familiar from the painting shown above (cat. no. 98), and we recognize the drummer on the left from the early version of the strong man (fig. 123). The audience, formerly quite sparse, has swelled into a wildly gesticulating mob. Yet one has the impression that Daumier is less concerned with recording their individual features than with capturing the raucous carnival atmosphere as a whole.

In a style unlike that of the preceding sideshow examples, he worked here in rapid strokes of a fine-nibbed pen and delicate washes over a light underdrawing of chalk and charcoal. This method allowed him to work intuitively while developing stippled accents.

In this instance we disagree with V. Kaposy and prefer to assign this drawing to a later date, somewhere in the second half of the 1860s.



The Sideshow

(La Parade)

Pen and ink, watercolor

Laid paper: 115 × 172 mm (4½ × 6¾ in.)

Unsigned

Verso: *Two Lawyers*

Geneva, Jan and Marie Anne Krugier Collection

EXHIBITION: Paris 1901, no. 159

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Maison 552* (verso undescribed)

Though small in format and seemingly quite spontaneous, this brightly colored version of the sideshow, of a relatively late date—doubtless the mid-1860s—is astonishingly complete. One has the impression that Daumier was recalling all he had seen and experienced as though from a distance and recaptured it in a kind of stenographic shorthand. Touches of humor give the work a vitality reminiscent of Venetian artists of the eighteenth century.

Since the drawing of lawyers on the reverse of this sheet is directly related in style to the drawings reproduced in 1864 under the title *Souvenirs du Palais* (Bouvy 956–959), the dating suggested above seems to be confirmed.



The Singing Violinist

(Violoniste chantant)

Pen and gray-brown ink, charcoal, and gray wash

Wove paper: 230 × 290 mm (9¹/₁₆ × 11⁷/₁₆ in.)

Unsigned

Verso: *A Defense Lawyer Points to Prud'hon's
Allegory of Justice and Crime* (fig. 25)

Private Collection

EXHIBITION: Paris 1901, no. 266

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 333 and 656 (verso)

Musicians and singers begging in the streets were common sights in nineteenth-century Paris, and it is only natural that they should have become the subjects of contemporary paintings and prints. Daumier was especially concerned with the social aspects of their plight, and he sought to arouse our sympathies with his own forceful expressiveness.

The combination of pen and ink and thin wash employed in the present example, permitting both a striking chiaroscuro that gives volume to his forms and a more delicate description of details, is frequently found in Daumier's drawings from the 1860s. We think that the work dates from this period because of its similarity to a wood engraving published in the *Le Monde illustré* in 1862 (Bouvy 937).

The fact that he produced such a lively composition for a print tends to confirm that this motif was not only a report of a visual experience but a subject he was concerned with emotionally (see also the following work, cat. no. 110).



The Organ-Grinder

(L'Orgue de Barbarie)

Pen and ink, watercolor, gouache, and conté crayon
Wove paper: 340 × 260 mm (13³/₈ × 10¹/₄ in.)
Signed in ink, lower left: *h. Daumier*
Paris, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris,
Petit Palais (228)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1934, no. 66; London 1961,
no. 141

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 350; Theodore Reff, *Manet
and Modern Paris*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art
(Washington, D.C., 1982), no. 69

The Paris depicted in this watercolor from about 1860 is a far cry from the one that officially emerged from the urban renovations of Napoleon III and was proclaimed as the most brilliant capital in Europe.

An organ-grinder, accompanied by a woman, has taken up a position on a street corner in one of the city's old, run-down quarters, where he sings out a song at the top of his voice.

Daumier described a scene that he could have encountered any day. We can see from the photographs of Charles Nègre (1820–1880), who like Daumier lived for a long time on the Ile Saint-Louis, how accurate a depiction of street life this watercolor really is. Nègre photographed a number of organ-grinders in the late 1840s and early 1850s, posing them with their children in front of just such ancient portals and passageways as those shown here (fig. 131).¹

Thanks to the massive architecture and the diagonal lighting that accentuates individual faces and lends the organ box itself an almost mysterious presence, this perfectly mundane motif assumes a monumentality and sensual interest that one does not expect to find in the usual genre scene. It is worth noting that the audience, made up of elderly, downtrodden men and women with gloomy faces, has not gathered around the singer but stands somewhat aloof, facing the viewer like a dark, accusing human wall. One cannot help but in a certain way be reminded of the compositional scheme of Courbet's *Funeral at Ornans*. Many writers have



Fig. 131. Charles Nègre, *The Barbary Organ*, ca. 1853. Photograph, 206 × 156 mm (8¹/₈ × 6¹/₈ in.). Private Collection

noted that street singers and organ-grinders were often considered disturbing or even subversive elements during this period and were regularly banished from the streets. Perhaps Daumier had this fact in mind as he set out, with all the skill of a creative artist of the classical mold, to produce a contemporary portrait of one such outcast, made to seem sympathetic but in no way idealized.

1. See Françoise Heilbrun, *Charles Nègre* (Munich, 1988), nos. 14, 29–31.



The Departure of the Clowns

(Le Déplacement des saltimbanques)

Charcoal, gray wash, watercolor, and conté crayon

Wove paper: 278 × 360 mm (10¹⁵/₁₆ × 14³/₁₆ in.)

Signed in black ink, lower left: *h. D.*

Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum (1928.273)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 205; Paris 1934; Philadelphia 1937, no. 33; London 1961, no. 184

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 550; Paula Hays Harper, *Daumier's Clowns: Les Saltimbanques et les Parades* (New York, 1981), pp. 101f., illus. 31; Laughton 1991, pp. 171, 175, illus. p. 174

Laden with his few miserable possessions, a clown moves on with his wife and son. Their bent, tired postures are described in heavy rounded forms which contrast with the verticality and flatness of the walls that loom up behind them.

Though not one of his more virtuosic watercolors, this work is justly famous for its mood of melancholy, which is emphasized by the pictorial order. Daumier retained the watercolor in his own possession, including it in his retrospective exhibition at Galerie Durand-Ruel in 1878. Though he portrayed carnival performers with great regularity, he only rarely focused on their movement from place to place. In her exhaustive study of this portion of Daumier's output, Paula H. Harper published only six examples (see Harper, illus. 30–35). She points out the various similarities between this work and popular prints from the 1840s, but one must compare it also to the small Daumier painting in the National Gallery in Washington (fig. 132), which offers a clue to the dating of the watercolor. The style and composition of the painting suggest that the work is indeed early, yet it must be later than Maison's date of about 1846–50. Daumier's somewhat awkward treatment of the watercolor suggests that this was one of his earliest experiments in that medium. The brushwork and the drawing alternate in such a way that at first glance one has the impression that the work is unfinished. However, it is thanks to this unusual technique that we are able to obtain a certain insight into Daumier's pri-

orities in his work. It becomes apparent that he was not concerned with producing a colorful composition of a painterly nature, but rather with articulating the relationships between volumes, space, and movement.

Given the fact that less emphasis is placed on the figures and greater interest is shown in lighting effects, including backlighting, it seems appropriate to date the work to the mid to late 1850s.



Fig. 132. *The Wandering Saltimbanques* (M. I–25). Oil on panel, 32.6 × 24.8 cm (12⁷/₈ × 9³/₄ in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Chester Dale Collection, 1962





The Clowns

(Les Saltimbanques)

Charcoal, pen and ink, wash, watercolor,
and conté crayon

Wove paper: 335 × 392 mm (13³/₁₆ × 15⁷/₁₆ in.)

Signed in black ink, lower left: *h. Daumier*

London, Victoria and Albert Museum,

Ionides Collection (120)

EXHIBITION: Paris 1878, no. 203

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 542; Paula Hays Harper,
Daumier's Clowns: Les Saltimbanques et les Parades
(New York, 1981), pp. 112f., illus. 36–39; Laughton
1991, pp. 170–71, illus. p. 170



Fig. 133. *The Clowns* (M. 540). Pen and watercolor, 135 × 145 mm (5³/₈ × 5³/₄ in.). Paris, Private Collection

Unlike the previous example, which gives the appearance of a work in progress, we see here a fully finished presentation of a related subject. The light colors at first suggest a certain gaiety. A closer examination, however, brings a feeling of sadness, for it becomes apparent from the clown's gaze toward the carnival tumult in the background that his drumming for attention is in vain. No one pays the slightest attention to him, and one senses that this is how it always is.

His wife, tired and resigned, is seated on the ground to his left. It is as though a traditional allegory of melancholy had been inserted into this genre scene. Her stillness provides a striking contrast to the noisy activity of her husband. Their teenage son has adopted his father's posture, while his younger brother, crouched on the ground, serves as a counterpart to their mother.

A small-format sketch of the two main figures (fig. 133) and a second drawing of the scene (M. 541) show that Daumier took considerable pains to balance the composition of the present watercolor, combining a sure sense of form with his own particular powers of expression.

The atmospheric light in this watercolor and in its masterful treatment of forms are reminiscent of other superb drawings such as *Two Good Friends* (cat. no. 63), and it would seem accordingly that this work was executed in the early or mid-1860s.

Clown Playing a Drum

(Saltimbanque jouant du tambour)

Black chalk, pen and ink, wash, watercolor, gouache, and conté crayon

Laid paper: 335 × 255 mm (13³/₁₆ × 10¹/₁₆ in.)

Signed in ink, lower right: *h. Daumier*

London, The Trustees of the British Museum (1966-2-10-30)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 112; Paris 1934, no. 111; London 1961, no. 178

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 539; Paula Hays Harper, *Daumier's Clowns: Les Saltimbanques et les Parades* (New York, 1981), pp. 175f., illus. 63; Laughton 1991, pp. 42, 175, illus. p. 175

In this watercolor of an old clown beating a drum Daumier has created a fully equivalent companion piece for his sideshows. The man stands facing forward, wholly isolated and ignored by the passersby on the busy street visible behind him. The artist worked out his composition in such a way that there is maximum contrast between the sad figure

of the clown and the towering architecture of the background, between age and youth, represented by the clown and the attentive boy, between silence and clamor, calm and movement. As in the watercolor of the organ-grinder (cat. no. 110), lighting has been carefully manipulated so that the old man almost appears to be standing in a spotlight, and the table strewn with the paraphernalia of a magician seems to glow with the intensity of a still life. A preliminary drawing for this work (fig. 134) attests to the care with which Daumier developed this composition, as does his subsequent use of specific details from it.

The forcefulness of this portrayal, its monumentality, and the bitter and defiant expression Daumier gives to his clown leave little doubt that the figure has a double meaning. The image serves to strengthen our

suspicion that Daumier used the image of the clown to comment on his own experience as an artist. This particular instance would appear to be a response to the financial setback he suffered when forced to forsake his income from the journal *Le Charivari*. As a caricaturist laid off for political reasons, Daumier could easily identify with unwanted outsiders like clowns and jugglers. Paula H. Harper has done a splendid job in her discussion of this aspect of the present work, but we find it difficult to accept her theory that the presence of the magician's table is an allusion to the corrupt election practices of the period, specifically in the year 1863. She does appear to be correct, however, in assigning that date to the drawing, for it has much in common with *The Organ-Grinder* (cat. no. 110) and with the drawings that follow.



Fig. 134. *A Clown Playing a Drum* (verso of cat. no. 116). Graphite and black chalk, 365 × 259 mm (14³/₈ × 10¹/₄ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1927



The Sideshow

(La Parade)

Chalk, wash, and conté crayon

Wove paper: 420 × 235 mm (16⁵/₁₆ × 9¹/₄ in.)

Unsigned

Private Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 537



114

The Sideshow

(La Parade)

Charcoal, pen and ink, gray wash, watercolor, gouache, and conté crayon

Wove paper: 440 × 334 mm (17⁵/₁₆ × 13³/₁₆ in.)Signed in ink lower left: *h. D.*

Private Collection

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 104; Paris 1901, no. 298; Paris 1934, no. 100; Philadelphia 1937, no. 34

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 534; Veronika Kaposy, "Remarques sur deux époques importantes de l'art de Daumier dessinateur," *Acta Historiae Artium* (Budapest) 14, nos. 3–4 (1968), pp. 255–73, illus. 7; Paula Hays Harper, *Daumier's Clowns: Les Saltimbanques et les Parades* (New York, 1981), pp. 183f., illus. 65; Provost, p. 216; Sotheby's, London, sale cat., December 3, 1991, lot 4

Probably after completing the *Clown Playing a Drum* (cat. no. 113), Daumier continued to experiment with the same composition, varying and developing it while preserving its central figure, an indication of the importance he attached to it.

In these later versions the clown is no longer beating his drum in a proper street but rather somewhere on the outskirts of the city, in front of a tent and a poster painting of a sideshow fat lady. A second clown wearing a fool's cap stands up on a chair, peering furtively to one side. This clown is extremely thin, and with his hunched shoulders and arms held close to his sides looks like nothing so much as a yardstick. In the background on the left one can see a street scene with a sideshow of the sort that Daumier had portrayed repeatedly.

Paula H. Harper has provided a convincing interpretation of this striking juxtaposition of images, tracing them back to their origins and suggesting something of their specific meaning in Daumier's time. Fat women were a staple of nineteenth-century sideshows, either in person or in decorative paintings. The one depicted here, however, bears a distinct resemblance to Daumier's 1867 lithograph caricature of Prussia, which was suppressed by the censors (fig. 136). The timid jumping jack is a





Fig. 135. *Pourquoi diable papa Mars reste-t-il toujours au port d'arme?* 1868 (D. 3630). Lithograph, 250 × 207 mm (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Edwin De T. Bechtel, 1957



Fig. 137. *The Sideshow* (M. 533). Black chalk, pen and ink, wash, and conté crayon, 406 × 295 mm (16 × 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.). Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Burrell Collection



Fig. 136. *Trop grosse*, 1867 (D. 3607). Lithograph, 232 × 202 mm (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1956

stand-in for Carmagnole, the prototype of the French military man under Napoleon I. Daumier had portrayed him once before in 1837, and introduced him again in the role of Mars in a lithograph from 1868 (fig. 135).

During 1866–68, after its defeat of Austria, Prussia seemed to take on threatening proportions in the eyes of the French. France's army was obviously out of date and feeble. In this politically explosive image, Daumier, assuming his alter ego as clown, sought to warn his countrymen of the very real danger of war, which broke out soon enough. Harper is clearly correct in dating the two works shown here to these same years 1866–68, given their historical allusions. In an elaborate argument, she explains why Daumier, drawing upon the earlier London watercolor (cat. no. 113), developed the present composition in stages (M. 535, 536), with pauses in between.

The important preliminary drawing in the Burrell Collection (fig. 137) and another that resurfaced only recently (cat. no. 114) demonstrate Daumier's concern with the structure of the composition and his careful balancing of light and shade with thinly drawn lines and transparent washes.

Street Show

(Paillasse)

Black chalk and watercolor

Laid paper: 365 × 255 mm (14³/₈ × 10¹/₁₆ in.)

Signed in ink, lower right: *h. D.*

Verso: *A Clown Playing a Drum* (fig. 134)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Purchase 1927, Rogers Fund (27.152.2)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 121; Paris 1901, no.

138; Paris 1934, no. 106; Philadelphia 1937, no. 32

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 547 and 538 (verso); Paula
Hays Harper, *Daumier's Clowns: Les Saltimbanques
et les Parades* (New York, 1981), p. 184, illus. 66–67;
Passeron 1986, illus. p. 219; Provost, p. 216

In this double portrait, Daumier presented a kind of synthesis of the two familiar motifs of the sideshow and the solitary saltimbanque. The work is structured around contrast and opposition and thus is representative of one of Daumier's fundamental artistic notions, one that is apparent as well in his various portrayals of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza.

This duo consists of a clown, here standing on a chair and wildly waving his arms in the manner of a carnival barker, and a rather more compact companion, who is beating a drum. The two are contrasted even in the manner of the drawing, for the figure of the shouting clown is rendered in excited, whirling lines while the sedentary one with his instrument is simply blocked out in color. But neither the shouting nor the drumming does much good; the sounds quickly die away in the emptiness of the square that is lined with distant buildings. This is a more dramatic staging of the scene described in the previous works (cat. nos. 114, 115).

The drawing and the dialectical subject matter lead us to ascribe the work to the mid-1860s. The drawing on the reverse is a version of the standing saltimbanque in the watercolor in the British Museum (cat. no. 113; see fig. 134). It is spare and measured, wholly different in style, yet clearly belongs in the same context.

It would appear that after having completed the various versions of his initial



pictorial idea (cat. nos. 113–115), Daumier was now experimenting, either spontaneously or upon reflection, imagining further alternatives. We find an early sketch of this idea in minimal size on the verso of catalogue number 9 (see fig. 61).



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The Singing Guitarist

(Guitariste chantant)

Pen and ink over charcoal

Wove paper: 305 × 106 mm (12 × 4³/₁₆ in.)

Unsigned

Verso: *A Woman Leaning on Her Arm*

The Cleveland Museum of Art (91.59)

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 144

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 340 and 211 (verso)

This single figure of a guitar player must be thought of both as a reflection of something Daumier had encountered himself that had struck his fancy and as a reflection of the definite interest in Parisian art circles for street singers and carnival performers. One thinks, for example, of similar depictions of musicians by the young Manet: his 1860 *Guitarero* or his etching *Le Chanteur des rues* from 1862.

Maison dates the present drawing to the late 1850s, but because of its similarity to the works listed below it may well have been produced even later. It is particularly interesting for the insights it presents us regarding Daumier's way of working. He first constructed his figure quite roughly in charcoal, indicating its various volumes, then refined and articulated it with a network of extremely thin strokes of the pen. These lines became increasingly dense as he worked upward, and are most intensely concentrated in the area of the guitarist's head. This linear structure fills the figure with life, so that he appears to be drawing breath and singing from deep within.



Study for a Group of Men

(Etude d'un groupe d'hommes)

Black chalk

Laid paper: 420 × 309 mm (16⁹/₁₆ × 12³/₁₆ in.)

Unsigned

The Art Institute of Chicago (1948.19)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 794

The scene depicted here cannot be identified precisely. It would appear to belong in the context of Daumier's carnival portrayals—the following drawing (cat. no. 119) tends to confirm this—but it is a view set somewhere off to the side, rather than in full view of the public.

One's first impression is of a dense system of lines describing a group of men standing in various poses behind a table or a low wall. Thicker and more concentrated lines draw one's gaze toward the main figure. He is a man of indeterminate age, gazing forward and deep in thought. He appears to be wholly oblivious of his comrades, who on closer scrutiny appear to be a group of vulgar and questionable types. One wonders whether the small female figures in the foreground, one of whom crouches on the ground while the other performs a graceful dance, do not in some way relate to the man's reveries. Perhaps they are only intended to contrast with the grotesque head, remotely reminiscent of Leonardo's caricatures, in the upper half of the drawing. It becomes increasingly clear that in works such as this Daumier is not really recreating specific scenes so much as he is meditating with his chalk, transferring his ideas and musings to paper in a kind of *écriture automatique*.

Two Clowns

(Deux Saltimbanques)

Pen and ink and gray wash

Laid paper: 237 × 156 mm (9³/₁₆ × 6¹/₈ in.)

Unsigned

Private Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: not in Maison; K. E. Maison, "An Unrecorded Daumier Drawing," *Master Drawings* 9, no. 3 (1971), p. 264, illus. 51

It seems as if these two men had stepped out of the previous drawing (cat. no. 118). Not only is the style of drawing likewise extraordinarily light, but the pose and expression of the clown leaning slightly forward are very similar to those of the figure previously described. The man shown here is more clearly identified, however. He is quite old and bald, and he gazes out at us in resignation from deep-set eyes while maintaining a certain composure.

This is apparently a late and very private meditation on the motif of the saltimbanque. It is by no means a self-portrait, but it is obvious that the artist felt a strong identification with his subject. One has only to compare this work to the lithograph *Le charivari obligé de refaire . . . une nouvelle vue* (fig. 138), published in 1867. There, in the figure of a clown in a comparable pose, Daumier seems to have called into question his work as a caricaturist. He was also commenting on the dismal state of politics in his time, publicly expressing some of the same views he communicated more subtly, but all the more emphatically, in this very private drawing.



Fig. 138. *Le charivari, obligé de refaire . . . une nouvelle vue*. Lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, November 26, 1867 (D. 3610). 245 × 205 mm (9³/₈ × 8¹/₈ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Harry G. Friedman, 1954





Fig. 139. *Don Quixote on the Way to Camacho's Wedding*, 1850 (M. I-33). Oil on panel, 39 × 32 cm (15 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.). Tokyo, Bridgestone Museum of Art

Don Quixote and Sancho Panza

MARTIN SONNABEND

In his drawings and paintings, Daumier returned again and again to the subject of Cervantes's "knight of the rueful countenance" and his faithful groom, Sancho Panza. He produced far more works based on Cervantes's novel than he did on the works of other writers such as La Fontaine or Molière. Yet interestingly enough he never dealt at all with this subject matter in his lithographic work, if one discounts the single "gillotage" from 1867 (fig. 141), which reproduces one of his drawings. A likely explanation for this is that he identified too strongly with the subject and that he saw a parallel between Don Quixote's errant quest and his own endeavor to establish himself as a serious artist rather than a newspaper cartoonist.

Cervantes's hero occupied Daumier throughout his career as a painter.¹ In fact one of his first publicly exhibited paintings, in the Salon of 1850–51, was his canvas of *Don Quixote on the Way to Camacho's Wedding* (fig. 139).² With that work, in which the single equestrian figure fills the canvas, he was concerned above all with presenting a portrait of the literary figure Don Quixote. Yet the discrepancy between the work's narrative title and its monumental portrayal of the hero demonstrates that even in this case Daumier was interested in more than merely illustrating Cervantes's novel. In his subse-

quent treatment of the subject he only rarely depicted a specific episode from the book. More often he altered a situation described in the novel to suit his own ideas or ignored the narrative altogether in order to concentrate on the wanderings of its two main characters through a hostile and desolate world. His focus on these two central figures is in fact quite at odds with Cervantes's text and its epic wealth of characters and situations.

Daumier was by no means the only artist to seize upon Don Quixote as a subject. First published in 1605, and thus a product of the baroque period in Spain, Cervantes's novel became extremely popular in the nineteenth century. The Romantic era found new levels of meaning in the work. Its single-minded hero was no longer merely grotesque and comical but rather the symbol of a longing for the past, a champion of seemingly outmoded ideals. Artists disillusioned with prevailing tastes were especially quick to identify, sometimes in a self-ironic way, with the don's imaginary struggles. Daumier also presented him as an artist, replacing his lance with a pen and surrounding him with paintings and drawings, but interestingly enough he did so only in his sole portrayal of the poor knight intended for the broader public (fig. 141).

Artists from Daumier's own circle had been dealing with the subject of Don Quixote since the 1830s. His friend Alexandre Decamps, for example, produced a number of paintings and drawings relating to the novel. More important are the illustrations for the book designed by Tony Johannot in 1836–37. Johannot, who had a major influence on French Romantic book illustration, was not only sensitive to the combination of greatness and folly in the nobleman from La Mancha, he was also the first artist to utilize landscape as an expressive element in his illustrations of the knight's adventures (fig. 140).³



Fig. 140. Tony Johannot, wood engraving, illustration in *L'ingénieux hidalgo Don Quichotte de la Manche*, Dubonet, Paris, 1836–37



Fig. 141. *Don Quixote*. Zincograph, published in *Album autographique: L'Art à Paris en 1867* (Bouvy 972). 130 × 249 mm (5 1/8 × 9 7/8 in.)

Building on the work of Johannot, Gustave Doré published his own series of illustrations in 1863. His must be considered the greatest Don Quixote illustrations of the nineteenth century (fig. 142). Among these famous wood engravings are several that bear a similarity to works by Daumier and may have played a role as inspirations. Nevertheless, Doré's works are clearly book illustrations, while Daumier's are independent works of art. Doré set out to narrate the story's more dramatic and exciting moments, and he was determined to invent graphic equivalents for Don Quixote's countless adventures. Yet despite his wealth of pictorial nuances, and though he occasionally captured a mood that speaks to us directly, his wood engravings are ultimately dependent on the literary text and incomprehensible without it. Daumier, by contrast, searched for pictorial formulations that are based on the novel but aim at a deeper level of meaning.

A high degree of imagination is required to fully penetrate such characters. In his own explorations Daumier appears to have relied largely on the drawing process itself. It is possible that he was also influenced by the Don Quixote drawings of Jean-Honoré Fragonard, which he may have known either in the originals (see fig. 143) or from engraved reproductions by Dominique-Vivant Denon.⁴ He certainly did not imitate



Fig. 142. Gustave Doré, *Don Quixote and the Dead Mule*. Wood engraving, illustration in *L'ingénieux hidalgo Don Quichotte de la Manche*, Hachette, Paris, 1863

Fragonard's style, but he could possibly have been inspired by the earlier artist's tentative and loose manner of drawing.

Needless to say, Daumier was also interested in the comedy inherent in Cervantes's material. As a caricaturist and a perceptive observer of human behavior he could not help but be amused by Sancho's troubles, and he portrayed these most successfully (cat. nos. 121, 122). In terms of design, he was also fascinated by the grotesque pairing of the withered knight and his fat groom (cat. no. 120). From the beginning, he exploited this contrast as the confrontation of opposing principles. His Don Quixote is virtually disembodied, the spirit personified, charging tirelessly toward some visionary goal. Sancho, on the other hand, is all physical body. He has to be dragged along, and he retards all forward progress by his sheer earth-bound weight. As in all of Daumier's drawings, external appearance is transformed into an inner vision.

But Daumier developed his subject matter even further. In addition to the contrasting heroes he introduced a third component, which changed their original antithetical relationship. Irrevocably linked as they are as the personifications of opposing princi-

ples, Don Quixote and Sancho Panza must contend with a certain resistance expressed pictorially in terms of light and—more important—space. Due to this added dimension, the figure of Don Quixote becomes more than merely a symbol of the artist in general or of Daumier specifically. He emerges as a metaphor for a spiritual human existence. It is by no means coincidental that one notes in these works similarities to Daumier's portrayals of refugees, his other existential image. Like Don Quixote, these fleeing figures are seen to be struggling against the resistance of space and even light toward some indefinite goal (cat. nos. 26, 123). In his late portrayals of Don Quixote especially, Daumier achieved a treatment of the human form that conceives of body, mind, and space as a dynamic whole, as flowing energy, tension, movement. The dissolution of the physical, the interpenetration of body and space captured so impressively in a climactic achievement, *Don Quixote on a White Horse* (cat. no. 130), serves as a vivid expression of this view of a deeper context of existence.



Fig. 143. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *Don Quixote Reading*. Graphite, wash, and watercolor, 420 × 280 mm (16½ × 11 in.). Winterthur, Oskar Reinhart Collection

1. See also Johannes Hartau, *Don Quijote in der Kunst: Wandlungen einer Symbolfigur* (Berlin, 1987), esp. pp. 196–241.
2. The question of whether the picture reproduced here (M. I–33) is the one that was exhibited in the Salon of 1850 is subject to some controversy. Hartau, who has contested Maison's hypothesis (*Don Quijote in der Kunst*, p. 206, n. 804), now considers it possible that M. I–33 was the painting in the Salon after all (Hartau has kindly communicated his new opinion).
3. See *Don Quijote: Ausgaben in vierhundert Jahren*, exh. cat., Museum für Kunsthandwerk (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), pp. 229–31.
4. See Eunice Williams, *Drawings by Fragonard in North American Collections*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C., 1978), no. 60.



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Don Quixote and Sancho Panza

Charcoal and white crayon

Laid paper: 280 × 410 mm (11¹/₁₆ × 16¹/₈ in.)

Unsigned

Verso: *Study for the Figure of Silenus*

Private Collection

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1901, no. 201; London 1961, no. 227

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 435 and 744 (verso); Johannes Hartau, *Don Quijote in der Kunst* (Berlin, 1987), illus. 167a

Not in exhibition

This drawing of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza on the road is obviously a study for the painting with the same title in an American private collection (M. I-36). The sketch on the back (fig. 144) is directly related to the large *Drunkenness of Silenus* in Calais (cat. no. 30), and accordingly it would appear that the drawing dates from about 1850, the year in which the *Silenus* was produced. In

this early period Daumier used charcoal and chalk in a highly "lithographic" manner, modeling his figures as though in relief, with rather sharp contrasts between light and dark. Here, the figure of Sancho is endowed with considerably more volume than that of Don Quixote, as the deeper shadows reveal.

Daumier is concerned with the contrast between the bodies and poses of his two figures and has an almost transparent Don Quixote riding ahead of the very earth-bound Sancho. The presence of the *Silenus* on the reverse, to a certain extent another embodiment of the Sancho type, tells us something about how Daumier's imagination worked. He was clearly interested in depicting general types rather than in illustrations of specific characters.

Fig. 144. *Study for the Figure of Silenus* (verso of cat. no. 120). Charcoal, 410 × 280 mm (16¹/₈ × 11¹/₁₆ in.). Private Collection



Three Studies for Sancho Panza and His Ass

(Trois Etudes de Sancho Pansa et son âne)

Charcoal, conté crayon

Laid paper: 190 × 267 mm (7½ × 10½ in.)

Unsigned

Private Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 413

These sketches may relate to the first chapter of the eleventh book of *Don Quixote*, in which a defeated Sancho Panza gives up the governorship that was awarded him as a joke, returns to his old comrade, his ass, and resumes the simple life (see also Gustave Doré's illustration of this scene from 1863, fig. 146). The drawing is thus one of the small group of Daumier's drawn or painted studies dealing specifically with Sancho's trials. There are no known finished versions of these sketches. From the way the artist handled the charcoal and crayon it would seem that the studies were executed at a relatively early date, probably the early 1850s. Their technique and their interest in Sancho link them to the large drawing *Don Quixote Turning Somersaults for Sancho Panza* (fig. 145) in the Oskar Reinhart Collection, Winterthur. There, Sancho responds with a telling and expansive pose, and it would appear that these studies of Sancho with his ass were experiments at finding a solution as vivid as that one.



Fig. 146. Gustave Doré, *Sancho Panza and His Ass*. Wood engraving, illustration in *L'ingénieux hidalgo Don Quichotte de la Manche*, Hachette, Paris, 1863

Fig. 145. *Don Quixote Turning Somersaults for Sancho Panza* (M. 428). Charcoal, 340 × 250 mm (13⅜ × 9⅞ in.). Winterthur, Oskar Reinhart Collection



Don Quixote and Sancho Panza

Pen and black ink, gray washes on reddish chalk

Laid paper: 267 × 382 mm (10½ × 15¼ in.)

Unsigned

Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle (1980–13)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1934, no. 124; London 1961, no. 231

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 425; Johann Eckart von Borries, *Die französischen Zeichnungen 1570–1930*, exh. cat., Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Kupferstichkabinett (Karlsruhe, 1983), no. 63



Fig. 147. *Sancho Panza beside a Tree* (M. 411). Charcoal and conté crayon, 82 × 59 mm (3¼ × 2¾ in.). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst

This portrayal is a free variation on an episode in the sixth chapter of the third book of *Don Quixote*, in which Sancho, forced to stay up and keep watch through the night at his master's side, finds he must answer the call of nature. Daumier's version differs in a number of respects from the original text, a further indication that the artist was not interested in mere anecdotal illustration. The result is a portrayal of the distinct contrast between the knight errant and his groom, mind and body, idea and matter. A small crayon drawing in Copenhagen (fig. 147) presents an earlier version of the composition. Compared to this, Daumier added in the drawing in Karlsruhe a tree to screen Sancho from the viewer while his animal stands between him and his master. The scene is somewhat less scandalous, as a result, but Sancho's embarrassment is even more vividly expressed. In its use of pen and wash and in its treatment of light, the present work resembles the drawing *In Contemplation* (cat. no. 68), and it may well have been executed, like that one, in the mid to late 1860s. Maison's dating of an unfinished painting of the same subject serves to confirm this assumption (M. I–175).





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Don Quixote and Sancho Panza

Black chalk and wash

Wove paper: 200 × 298 mm (7⁷/₈ × 11³/₄ in.)

Signed lower right: *h. D.*

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase 1927, Rogers Fund (27.152.1)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 140; Paris 1901, no. 142

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 437; Ursula Seibold, "Zur Figur des Don Quijote in der bildenden Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 45 (1984), pp. 145–71, illus. 12; Wilhelm Weber, "Don Quijote als Thema bildender Kunst," *Kunst und Kultur am Mittelrhein. Festschrift für Fritz Arens* (1985), pp. 266–80, illus. 163; Provost, p. 215

Unlike the earlier portrayal of the novel's two heroes (cat. no. 120), this one no longer shows Don Quixote and Sancho Panza one behind the other as though in a sculptural relief. Instead it shows them riding single file into an indeterminate distance. The shadows have a different function as well in this drawing. They no longer simply define bodily forms but serve above all to reveal the importance of light, which assumes an almost physically sensible presence. The two men are riding into the light, to be sure, but it is as though they must push forward against it. This existential motif has become more important than the mere contrast

between master and groom, and tends to annul it.

Though the present work bears a certain similarity to the drawing *The Fugitives* in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris (cat. no. 26), it may have been produced somewhat later, in the 1860s. In a private collection in Paris there is a lithography stone with an identical depiction, possibly done originally on transfer paper, from which a few prints were made in the twentieth century.¹

1. Roger Passeron, *Daumier, témoin de son temps* (Fribourg, 1986), pp. 254ff.

Don Quixote and Sancho Panza

Oil on canvas

40.2 × 33 cm (15¹³/₁₆ × 13 in.)

Signed lower left: *h. D.*

Los Angeles, The Armand Hammer Daumier and Contemporaries Collection, The Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center (4567)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison I-206; Georgel and Mandel 1972, no. 265; *Honoré Daumier, 1808–1879: The Armand Hammer Daumier Collection*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 1982), no. 185

Don Quixote is here seen riding off into the distance while Sancho, in the foreground, follows behind. It is instructive to see how year after year Daumier kept coming back to this motif in his painting, altering it with the passage of time (M. I-171, M. I-172, M. I-207). The present canvas, which Maison dates to the period 1866–68 on the basis of its masterful painting technique, is the first of this series to give a special significance to space. Its great depth is established by contrast to the narrow mountain pass through which Sancho and his ass ride, which opens out before them onto a broad plain. But it comes to dominate the picture only through Daumier's use of color. The moody tones of the evening sky filled with black birds bear very little resemblance to those in the canvases of the Barbizon painters with whom Daumier was acquainted. The colors could possibly have been inspired by Corot. More apparent is the influence of the Romantic tradition, and especially the paintings of Eugène Delacroix.





125

Don Quixote and Sancho Panza

Charcoal, red chalk, and conté crayon
(notes in pencil on the right)

Wove paper: 145 × 230 mm (5¹/₁₆ × 9¹/₁₆ in.)

Unsigned

New York, Richard S. Davis Collection

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 434; Johannes Hartau, *Don Quixote in der Kunst* (Berlin, 1987), illus. 200

The arrangement of space, the view from the mountains out onto a broad plain, suggests that this virtuoso charcoal drawing was produced in connection with the painting in the Armand Hammer Museum (cat. no. 124), and therefore dates from the 1860s. The semicircular definition of the mountain pass from which Sancho Panza and Don Quixote emerge is juxtaposed to the diagonal line that leads from the two riders toward the distant sun. The tall, thin figure of Don Quixote is confronted with infinite space, while Sancho is linked with the mountain landscape of the foreground. Because of the “backlighting” of the sun, the figures are reduced to mere silhouettes, with none of

the usual modeling of light and shadow seen, for example, in catalogue number 120. Light and dark are here equivalent to the opposition of space and physical bodies. Space is rapacious, and from the figure of Don Quixote especially it is clear that individuals must brace themselves against its vastness.



126

Don Quixote in Moonlight

(Don Quixote au clair de la lune)

Charcoal

Laid paper: 203 × 264 mm (8 × 10³/₈ in.)

Unsigned

Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung,
Kunstmuseum (1978.214) (formerly in the
Robert von Hirsch Collection)

EXHIBITION: Paris 1901, no. 220

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 414; Laughton 1991, p. 181,
illus. p. 181

Don Quixote is here on night watch, standing upright and gazing at the landscape and the moon while Sancho Panza sleeps curled up on the ground. The scene is a recurrent one in Cervantes's novel, and it is impossible to tell from Daumier's drawing whether or not he had a specific episode in mind. The drawing would seem to be yet another illustration of the contrast between the two heroes. As in the preceding drawing (cat. no. 125)—a similar composition—the slender figure of Don Quixote is confronted with the vastness of space, though here the chiaroscuro is less overpowering. The knight staring off at the distant moon seems to be taken up into the surrounding space, just as

the sleeping Sancho, scarcely distinguishable from a boulder, blends with the ground. The concept of space and the subject matter of this drawing suggest that, like the preceding one, it was created in the 1860s.



127

Don Quixote and Sancho Panza

Oil on canvas
66 × 116 cm (26 × 45¹¹/₁₆ in.)
Unsigned

Private Collection

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 89

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison I–111; Georgel and Mandel
1972, no. 149

This painting, which still has traces of the grid used to transfer the composition to the canvas, illustrates Daumier's working method. He first outlined the space with loose brushstrokes indicating the dark ridge of mountains. He then developed the figures as light negative forms. Gradually these took on three dimensions with the addition of dark shadows and partial outlines, which prevented

them from dissolving into space. The bright areas help to give the impression that Sancho Panza and Don Quixote are being "driven" by light. Maison dates this painting—and with it the immediately related drawings (cat. nos. 128, 129)—to the late 1850s. However the treatment of space suggests that the work may not have been produced until the early 1860s.



128

Don Quixote and Sancho Panza

Pencil, watercolor, and conté crayon
(trial strokes of brush, chalk, and pen on the margin)
Laid paper: 193 × 272 mm (7⁵/₈ × 10¹¹/₁₆ in.)
Unsigned
Private Collection

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 145; Paris 1901,
no. 479

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 439

This motif, one that Daumier used in a number of drawings (see cat. nos. 128 and 129) and in an unfinished painting (cat. no. 127), could relate to various episodes in Cervantes's novel (for example book 1, chapter 4, or book 2, chapter 8). Don Quixote catches sight of an approaching party of travelers and suspects them of being marauding knights or sorcerers. Eager for a worthy "adventure," he charges against them while Sancho vainly attempts to restrain

him. Again we see Daumier experimenting with the relationship of figures to the space around them. With the caravan faintly sketched in at the right, he suggests the great distance that Don Quixote must cover on his galloping Rosinante. The resistance of that space is underscored by the heavy figure of Sancho, who is linked to Don Quixote by the wedge-shaped, barb-edged range of mountains. It is as though Sancho is restraining his master with an imaginary rein.



129

129

Don Quixote and Sancho Panza

Pen and black ink, gray wash, watercolor,
and conté crayon

Wove paper: 147 × 280 mm (5⁷/₁₆ × 11¹/₁₆ in.)

Signed in black ink, lower left: *h. Daumier*

Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of
Design, Gift of Mrs. Murry S. Danforth (42.208)

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1878, no. 222; Paris 1901, no. 122

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison 440

130

Don Quixote on a White Horse

(Don Quixote sur un cheval blanc)

Oil on wood

40 × 31 cm (15³/₄ × 12³/₁₆ in.)

Unsigned

Private Collection

EXHIBITION: London 1961, no. 100

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Maison I–238; Georgel and Mandel
1972, no. 300

One notes first in this painting the contrast between the heavy darkness of the lower section of the picture with the airy brightness in the areas above. Only on second glance does one begin to make out the sketchy but carefully structured motif. Don Quixote charges forward up a trail toward the blue of the distance while Sancho plods along behind. The figures consist of color, rhythm, and weight with no clear indication of details. There is not even a description of landscape; the artist relies solely on the spatial evocations of his colors.

Daumier works here with his customary palette of red, blue, and white, but in con-

trast to his style in earlier canvases his brushwork is now so completely free that the painting process itself expresses part of the meaning of the form. This method of painting is reminiscent of the virtuoso technique of the late-eighteenth-century oils of Fragonard, but Daumier is not interested merely in matters of style. The effects he creates may be in part a reflection of his increasing blindness, which allowed him to distinguish only light and dark values. In this painting the bodies and the space surrounding them seem interfused, with the result that the motif of the errant knight becomes wholly abstract, as if dissolved.





Fig. 148. *Portrait of Honoré Daumier*, ca. 1861–65. Photograph by Etienne Carjat. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Gift of Mme Marie-Thérèse Jammes and M. André Jammes, 1984

Chronology

JENNY SQUIRES WILKER

1808

Honoré-Victorin Daumier is born on February 26 in Marseille, on Place Saint Martin, the third child and first son of Jean-Baptiste Daumier (1777–1851) and Cécile-Catherine Philip. Jean-Baptiste is an artisan (glazier and picture framer) by trade but pastoral poet by vocation.

1815

Jean-Baptiste leaves his family in Marseille with little financial means and goes to Paris to seek his fortune as a writer. Reads his work in literary circles and to members of the newly reinstated royal family and has his poem *Un Matin du printemps* published by the Imprimerie Royale.

1816

Jean-Baptiste obtains a clerk job at the court of the bankruptcy judges. His wife and children arrive in Paris in September.

1817–19

Jean-Baptiste is introduced to Louis XVIII, and his tragedy *Philippe II* is produced at a small theater on the Rue Chantreine (probably Honoré's first exposure to the stage). But he loses his job and family finances are meager. They live at eight different residences, mostly on the Left Bank or on the island quays, over the next dozen years.

ca. 1820

Jean-Baptiste finds a job for twelve-year-old Honoré as a *saute-ruisseau*, or errand boy, for a bailiff, where he gathers his first impressions of the law courts.

ca. 1821

Daumier takes a different job as an assistant at Delaunay's bookshop in the galleries of the Palais Royal, the teeming center of Parisian book and print commerce, as well as

cafés, gaming houses, and brothels. He starts drawing by copying at the Louvre.

ca. 1822

Is introduced by his father to Alexandre Lenoir, artist, archaeologist, and founder of the Musée des Monuments Français. Studies drawing with Lenoir briefly and is exposed to academic methods and antique casts, as well as to the works of Rubens, Titian, and Rembrandt.

1823–28

Attends the Académie Suisse, where artists draw and paint from the model cheaply and without formal instruction. Forms lifelong friendships with the painter Philippe-Auguste Jeanron and the sculptor Antoine-Augustin Préault.

ca. 1825

At age seventeen apprentices to Zéphirin Belliard, lithographer and publisher of sentimental portraits.

ca. 1829

Creates his first caricatures for the weekly *La Silhouette*, published by Charles Philipon (future founder of *La Caricature*), Victor Ratier, and others.

1830

After the July Revolution, takes advantage of the relaxation of censorship laws to create his first political caricatures of the new deputies and of Louis-Philippe and his ministers.

1831

On December 16 his caricature *Gargantua* (D. 34), a grotesque depiction of Louis-Philippe as Rabelais's giant, is submitted to

the *Dépot légal*. Later in the month, it is seized by the police at the Aubert caricature shop in the Galerie Véro-Dodat and orders are given to destroy the stone and all remaining impressions.

1832

On February 9 *La Caricature*, a weekly satirical journal founded by Philipon and Gabriel Aubert in November 1831, and in constant battle with the government, publishes its first Daumier caricature, an attack on the well-fed supporters of Louis-Philippe (D. 40).

On February 23 Daumier is tried for *Gargantua*, along with the publisher Aubert and the printer Delaporte. All three are sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a 500-franc fine, but only Daumier is required to serve his sentence.

At Philipon's suggestion, Daumier begins sculpting satirical busts of July Monarchy politicians to serve as models for a series of lithographs (see figs. 31–34); the first of these appears in *La Caricature* on April 26 (D. 43).

On August 30 Daumier is taken to Sainte-Pélagie prison, from which he writes cheerfully to his friend Jeanron. Philipon is also imprisoned there.

On November 11 is transferred to the "asylum" of Dr. Casimir Pinel at Chaillot, a more relaxed imprisonment, to which Philipon has preceded him. Works on a series of watercolors, *Chimeras of the Imagination*. Among his first fully developed compositions, they are transferred to stone by Charles Ramelet (see figs. 12, 13; D. App.

29–43) and published in *Le Charivari*, a daily founded by Philipon and Aubert on December 1.

1833

On February 22 Daumier is released from prison. Moves away from his family to a communal living situation on Rue Saint-Denis with other artists, including Paul Huet and Louis Cabat. Other associates at this time are Préault and Jeanron, as well as Narcisse Diaz de la Peña.

1834

Produces five large-format political prints for Philipon's subscription series the *Association Mensuelle*, including *Ne vous y frottez pas!!* (fig. 60), *Enfoncé Lafayette* (D. 134), and *Rue Transnonain, le 15 Avril 1834* (fig. 59).

On October 9 *La Caricature* lists a Daumier watercolor *Un Cabaret du village* among the works to be reproduced in upcoming issues of the *Revue des peintres*.

1835

On August 27 the last issue of *La Caricature* includes Daumier's *C'était vraiment bien la peine de nous faire tuer* (D. 130). Following the so-called September laws, which effectively prohibit all political caricature until the revolution of 1848, Daumier begins caricatures of everyday life. In the first series, *Types français* (D. 260–270), are full-figure caricatures representing different trades. Other lithographs during this period focus on the public and private life of all levels of the Parisian bourgeoisie.

1836–38

Caricaturiana (D. 354–455), a series featuring the popular “Robert Macaire,” an opportunistic swindler, by turn doctor, lawyer, speculator, banker, or merchant, appears week by week in *Le Charivari*, with captions by Philipon.

1839–43

Daumier is producing three or four caricatures a week for *Le Charivari* and the sec-

ond *La Caricature*. Also draws extensively for wood engravings appearing in newspapers and books, such as *Physiologies* (1841–42), *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (1840–42), *Némésis médicale illustrée* (1840), and *La Grande Ville* (1842).

Thackeray writes at length about Daumier's Robert Macaire in *The Paris Sketch Book* (1840), and Fortunatus includes Daumier in his *Dictionnaire satirique des célébrités contemporaines* (1842). Even with such productivity and celebrity, Daumier has to borrow money and sell his furniture to settle debts.

From December 1841 to January 1843 creates *Histoire ancienne* (D. 925–974), a series of spoofs of classical heroes, philosophers, gods, and goddesses, for *Le Charivari*.

1845

From March 1845 to October 1848 publishes *Les Gens de Justice* (D. 1337–1377), forty caustic caricatures of Parisian lawyers plying their trade.

In May 1845, Baudelaire praises Daumier's draughtsmanship in his Salon review: “Nous ne connaissons, à Paris, que deux hommes qui dessinent aussi bien que M. Delacroix, l'un d'une manière analogue, l'autre dans une méthode contraire.—L'un est M. Daumier, le caricaturiste; l'autre, M. Ingres, le grand peintre, l'adrateur rusé de Raphaël.”

1846

By this date, and possibly as early as 1841, Daumier is living and working on the top floors of 9 Quai d'Anjou, on the Ile Saint-Louis, a fertile enclave of artistic and bohemian life. The island is also home for Charles-François Daubigny, Jeanron, and Victor Geoffroy-Dechaume, while its frequent visitors include Delacroix, Corot, Théodore Rousseau, Jules Dupré, and Antoine-Louis Barye. Living at 17 Quai d'Anjou at the Hôtel Pimodan (former Hôtel Lauzun) are Baudelaire, Théophile Gautier, and Boissard de Boisdénier, whose notorious hashish parties are depicted by Daumier (D. 1157).

On February 2 a son is born to Daumier and his longtime mistress Marie-Alexandrine d'Assy (known as Didine). Marries Didine on April 16; their child dies within two years.

1847

Attends February 15 meeting at the home of Barye to plan an independent salon. Others include Ary Scheffer, Gabriel-Alexandre Decamps, Dupré, Delacroix, Jeanron, Charles Jacque, and Rousseau.

1848

On March 2 Daumier comments on the February Revolution with the lithograph *Le Gamin de Paris aux Tuileries* (D. 1743), the first of several political caricatures produced during a brief respite from censorship. On March 5 a nonjuried salon opens with nothing submitted by Daumier, who has undoubtedly been painting for several years. On March 18 with the encouragement of Courbet and François Bonvin, Daumier enters the competition for an image of the Republic (fig. 66); his entry is selected as one of the twenty finalists and he is given 500 francs to produce a finished work.

On September 19 receives a 1000-franc commission from the state for a painting of his choice; paints a preliminary canvas sketch *The Penitent Magdalen* (fig. 67).

1849

In February receives another state commission, this time for 1500 francs, and produces a sketch for a *Saint Sebastian* (see cat. no. 28). Delacroix reports, in a February journal entry, Baudelaire's comment about Daumier's difficulties finishing work. Daumier enters *The Miller, His Son, and the Ass* (fig. 78) in the Salon (after entering and then retrieving his *Magdalen*); critics find fault with Daumier's color. During the summer outbreak of cholera he sends Didine to the Normandy coast.

1850

On October 11 Daumier publishes the first definitive *Ratapoil* (D. 2035) in *Le*

Charivari. The related sculpture of this scrawny Bonapartiste (figs. 29, 30) provokes an ecstatic response from historian and fellow republican Jules Michelet.

1850–52

Enters two paintings, *Nymphs Pursued by Satyrs* (M. I–32) and *Don Quixote on the Way to Camacho's Wedding* (probably lost, although formerly considered to be M. I–33), and one drawing, *The Drunkenness of Silenus* (cat. no. 30) in the Salon of 1850–51.

Creates the series *Idylles parlementaires* (D. 2050–2076), in which naked legislators cavort within rococo frames.

Sometime early in 1851 his father, Jean-Baptiste, dies at Charenton insane asylum, which he has recently entered.

After Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte's decree of February 1852, censorship of printed images is restored and Daumier returns to social caricature. He indirectly criticizes the regime with caricatures on such issues as the Haussmannization of Paris and the Crimean War.

1853

Following the death of his friend Jean-Jacques Feuchère, in 1852, helps to arrange for the March sale of Feuchère's art collection, which includes a painting, six drawings, and around 650 lithographs by Daumier.

Makes the first of nearly annual summer visits to Valmondois and Barbizon, where he has friendships with Millet, Rousseau, Corot, Geoffroy-Dechaume, Daubigny, and others.

Designs costumes for ancient gods and goddesses for an elaborate *féerie* opening at the Théâtre Porte Saint-Martin in September (see cat. no. 18; M. 452–469). Actor friends working here are Alfred Baron (Cléophas) and Delphine Baron, Alfred's sister and the wife of theater director Marc Fournier. Friend to many other actors, such as Henri Monnier, and an avid theatergoer, Daumier finds many subjects for caricature as well as for drawings and paintings.

1855

Attends a Sunday evening meeting at the Barbizon home of Théodore Rousseau, with Diaz, Dupré, Millet, Barye, Félix Ziem, and writers; an illustrated edition of the fables of La Fontaine is planned (see cat. nos. 32–34).

1857

On October 1 Baudelaire publishes “Quelques Caricaturistes français,” with prominence given to Daumier, in *Le Présent Revue universelle*.

1858–59

In February Paris butchers lose their monopoly; Daumier produces caricatures of the butcher trade for *Le Charivari* (D. 3010–3021), a painting (M. I–110), and four drawings (see cat. nos. 56, 57; also M. 261–264). (In 1857 Rembrandt's *Butchered Ox* [fig. 100] arrived at the Louvre.)

Baudelaire writes to a friend of Daumier's nearly fatal illness.

1860

In mid-March Daumier, after twenty-seven years at the journal, is dismissed from *Le Charivari*. An outraged Baudelaire responds by renewing discussions with Poulet-Malassis of an old idea for an edition of Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Aristophanes's comedies to be illustrated by Daumier. Nothing comes of this.

On July 8 a wood engraving of *The Drunkenness of Silenus* (Bouvy 919) is published in *Le Temps illustrateur universel* with an enthusiastic article by Edmond and Jules de Goncourt: “. . . C'est que ce n'est pas seulement un dessinateur charivarique, c'est un grand artiste que Daumier. Il a sa place marquée dans la petite pléiade de ces maîtres du crayon dont la postérité accueillera la popularité. . . .”

1861

Daumier concentrates on painting and drawing. In February *The Laundress* (M. I–84) and *The Drinkers* (M. I–II.30) are shown in a benefit exhibition at the Galerie

Martinet. *The Laundress* appears in the Salon.

A negative article by Philippon—“Abdication de Daumier Ier”—appears in the *Journal Amusant*, September 21, and later in *Le Charivari*, December 21.

1862

In severe financial difficulties, Daumier sells furniture and borrows money. Sells paintings to Rousseau and Louis-Charles Steinheil. Giacomelli, who at this time published a catalogue raisonné of Raffet's prints, commissions a watercolor, *Collectors* (M. 387), in which Giacomelli is shown examining Raffet's prints. A letter from Daumier to dealer Beugniet, probably from this period, reports that a “petite tête” awaits only a frame and asks for payment.

Etienne Carjat commissions a series of lithographs for his new journal *Le Boulevard*; the first appears March 16, preceded by an article on Daumier by Champfleury on February 22. One caricature—*Paysagistes au travail* (D. 3251)—is created while visiting Daubigny at Valmondois.

1863

Moves to Montmartre to a quick succession of different addresses, ending up on the Boulevard de Clichy.

His drawing *The Drunkenness of Silenus* is taken by the state in payment for the unfulfilled Magdalen commission of 1848.

On December 18 is welcomed back to *Le Charivari*, where old friends give him a banquet.

1864–65

On February 26, 1864, George A. Lucas, American engineer, purchases *Interior of an Omnibus* (M. 294). He also commissions two railway-carriage drawings (cat. nos. 49, 50). Among other purchasers listed in Daumier's account book for this period are Beugniet, Mme Pierre Bureau, Delille, and Moureaux. A Goncourt journal entry for

March 15, 1865, describes watercolors on the subject of lawyers seen at a shop in the Rue Taitbout.

Also in 1865 Champfleury publishes his *Histoire de la caricature moderne*, which features Daumier and includes a poem on the artist by Baudelaire.

In October 1865, Daumier moves to a house at Valmondois that he leases for nine years.

1867

His eyesight begins to fail, yet he produces some of his strongest printed work in attacks on imperialism and Prussian militarism during a relaxation of censorship.

1869–70

Enters three watercolors—*Visitors in an Artist's Studio* (possibly M. 384), *Judges in the Court of Assize* (unidentifiable), and *The Two Doctors and Death* (M. 400)—in the 1869 Salon. François Bonvin's Salon review in *Le Figaro* demands a cross of the Legion of Honor for Daumier; he is offered the cross the following year, but quietly refuses.

1871

On February 6, during the second stage of the siege of Paris by the Germans, is appointed to a commission appointed to look after art in the museums of Paris. On April

17, during the Commune, serves on its art committee.

Continues to act as witness to his times with powerful lithographs, perhaps culminating in the February *La France Prométhée et l'Aigle Vautour* (D. 3847).

1872

Produces his only poster, *The Charcoal Man of Ivry* (D. App. 27), and sole etching. The latter was created at a May 29 dinner party at the home of Charles de Bériot, on a copper plate, with Félicien Rops, Alfred Taiée, and Henri Harpignies (this etching is reprinted as the frontispiece to Champfleury's 1878 *Catalogue de l'oeuvre lithographié et gravé de H. Daumier*).

On September 14, in his last lithograph published in *Le Charivari*, a skeletal figure lies in a coffin draped with a shroud labeled "Monarchie"—*Et pendant ce temps-là ils continuent à affirmer qu'elle ne s'est jamais mieux portée* (D. 3937).

1874

On February 8 purchases the house he has leased for nine years at Valmondois.

1878

On April 17, mainly due to the efforts of Geoffroy-Dechaume, a large one-man exhibition opens at Galerie Durand-Ruel, with

a catalogue that includes a biography of Daumier by Champfleury. The artist, recovering from an unsuccessful eye operation, does not attend.

1879

On February 10 Daumier dies at Valmondois. He is buried on February 14 at the Valmondois cemetery, and later reinterred near Corot and Millet at Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris.

This chronology has been compiled from several biographies: Arsène Alexandre, *Honoré Daumier: L'homme et l'oeuvre* (1888); Jean Adhémar, *Honoré Daumier* (1954); Oliver W. Larkin, *Daumier: Man of His Time* (1966); Howard P. Vincent, *Daumier and His World* (1968), and Roger Passeron, *Daumier* (1979, 1981), as well as Jean Cherpin, *L'homme Daumier: Un visage qui sort de l'ombre* (1973). The more apocryphal stories have been left out, but many gaps, uncertainties, and perhaps errors remain. The more specialized *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848–1851* (1973, 1982), by T. J. Clark, and the compilation *Honoré Daumier: A Thematic Guide to the Oeuvre* (1989), by Louis Provost and Elizabeth C. Childs (editor), have provided additional information in selected areas.

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